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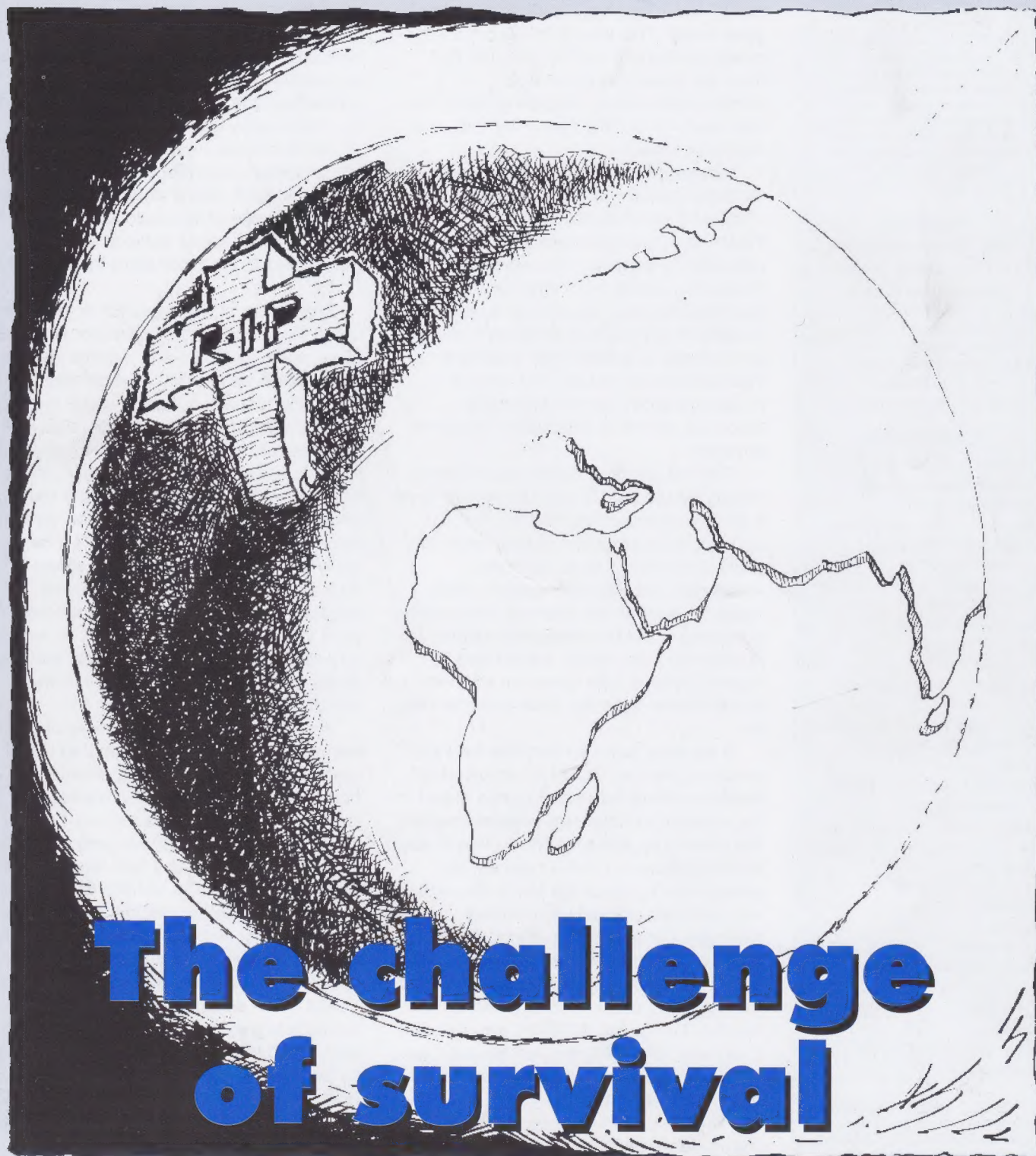
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The challenge of survival

Patrick Buchanan and Dwight Murphey on *The Death of the West*

Between a Rock and a hard place – the future for Gibraltar

A cold place for Protestants? – Nigel Dodds on the future of Ulster

Alfred Sherman on British Islam

PO Box 2085,
London, W1A 5SX, UK.

Tel/fax: (0845) 601 3243

E-mail: rightnow@compuserve.comWebsite: www.right-now.org**Patrons:**The Rt. Hon. Viscount Massereene
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Publisher:

Taki Theodoracopulos

Editor: Derek Turner**Contributing Editors:**

Roger Alsop

Christopher Luke

Marco Respinti (Milan)

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Cover: Stewart Buchan**CONTENTS**

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Why are we being so irrational about Iraq?

In the wake of the September 11 atrocities and George Bush's simplistic rhetoric about the "axis of evil", pressure appears to be mounting for more attacks on Iraq, with the aim of finally toppling Saddam Hussein's government. This idea is being criticised mostly by the Left and far Left, but this does not mean that we should consequently invade Iraq immediately. On this issue – if on little else – the Left may well have a point.

Naturally, the Left is against toppling Saddam Hussein for all the wrong reasons – reflexive anti-Americanism, anti-Westernism and anti-Semitism, anti-militarism, a sneaking fellow-feeling for the (nominally) socialist government in Baghdad. But they are right to question the wisdom of any such undertaking in this part of the world, at a time when Israel and Palestine are so volatile, and when it is necessary above all to concentrate resources on the neutralisation of Islamic terrorists.

The first points to ponder are narrowly military. Would the US and UK be able to do it by themselves if they had to? The EU appears to be lukewarm at best about the plans. Secondly, if he is seriously threatened, will Saddam Hussein finally resort to using all the chemical weapons he is reputed to hold in readiness? Untold numbers of Iraqi, Israeli, Iranian and Kuwaiti civilians, and American and even British troops could die, if we push him too far.

If we were sure that Iraq was backing terrorism, then we should be prepared to overlook military fears and just go ahead in the interests of long-term self-preservation. But there is no evidence linking Iraq to any terrorist outrages. On the contrary, his government is one of the few in the region not motivated primarily by primitive religiosity. For a long time during the upheavals in Iran, his Iraq was a *de facto* ally of the West, a useful check on Islamic expansionism and a rational counter-balance to regional dottiness and instability. Even now, other religions are tolerated in Iraq to a far greater extent than in most other countries in the region.

His attack on Kuwait was uncharacteristically foolish and greedy, and needed to be countered. Now that he has been beaten back within his borders, is it really worth 'pushing on to Baghdad', as unthinking conservative 'hawks' (who always get carried away when it comes to military action) urged at the end of the Gulf War

and are still urging now? If his government falls, is it not likely that something much worse (from our point of view) will take its place? Mightn't we just be facilitating a new base for terrorists – this time one which possesses chemical and biological weapons? If al-Qaeda regroups, it may well be that we shall again be grateful to have someone in the Middle East with whom we can have some kind of rational debate.

Some criticise Iraq for not allowing the UN to inspect his military establishments. But would such critics expect the Pentagon to allow a team of international observers inside *its* most secret defence establishments? Would Whitehall allow the UN into Porton Down?

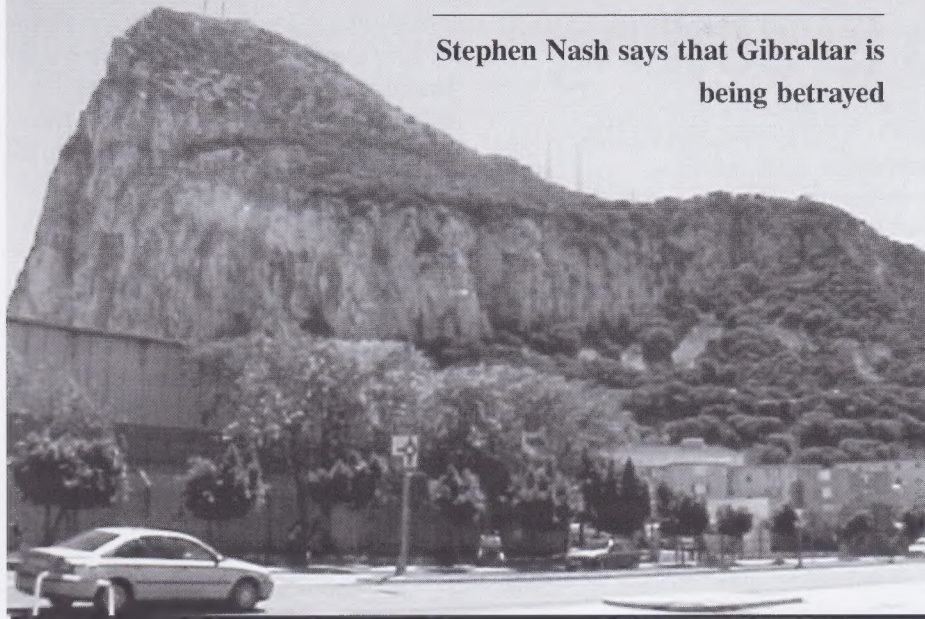
Some also criticise Iraq for its treatment of the Kurds. Whilst they do suffer under his rule – and all national and regional identities are valuable and worthy of expression – they suffer equally in Turkey, which the West somehow regards as a perfectly legitimate ally. Besides, in many respects the Kurdish militants are comparable to the IRA, in the zeal with which they murder people with whom they disagree. Just because we don't have the courage to defeat the IRA, can we really criticise countries that are willing to take robust measures against internal threats? Surely, it is their own business what they do within their borders, so long as it doesn't affect us. We may prefer that such states behave in a certain way, but we cannot reasonably expect them to.

A secondary reason to be wary of becoming deeper enmeshed in Iraq is the possibility that it may lead to disorder at home. One of the many disadvantages of large-scale immigration is that we import foreign tensions into our own countries. The present Home Secretary has recently warned the Cabinet of just this danger. This warning is in itself significant. As occasional *RN* contributor Robert Henderson said in a recent e-bulletin, "To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time since Enoch Powell that a politician has admitted that immigrants may form a fifth column within Britain and that foreign policy is constrained by such a fifth column". Again, if it was really necessary, we should be prepared to risk the odd riot, but intervening in Iraq really is not necessary.

So all in all and despite private feelings, there are many reasons why we should probably leave Iraq alone. In an imperfect world, and at such a dangerous time, we must take our allies where we find them. □

The Rock of democracy

Stephen Nash says that Gibraltar is
being betrayed



Gibraltar, a 3.1sq miles lump of rock on the southernmost tip of Spain, is one of the last outposts of the once imposing British Empire. The Rock, as it is popularly known, was captured by Britain in 1704 and formally ceded in perpetuity by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. Under the Gibraltar Constitution Order of 1969, the British government agreed that sovereignty would not be changed unless the people of Gibraltar agreed to it. Yet today the British Foreign Office is negotiating to share sovereignty with Spain against the express wishes of the people of Gibraltar. Even mainland Britons are overwhelmingly in favour (80%) of the Gibraltarians being able to decide their own future, according to a Mori poll commissioned by the Gibraltar government.

What the British government plans to do is to issue a joint declaration with Spain that it recognises Spain's claim to sovereignty over the Rock, with an undefined period of joint rule to precede the Rock being handed over to Spain. Peter Hain, the Foreign Office minister, has been hinting to Gibraltar that a large sum of EU money will become available to Gibraltar as and when Gibraltarians agree to this new relationship, whereas if they don't the monies may never materialise, and the Rock's people will have to carry on as before, suffering regular harassments and bluster from Madrid without receiving any support from London.

The reasons for this move are unclear, and may defy rational explanation. As the *Daily Telegraph* asked on the 19th of March "Why is it that people have only to say that they want to be British to be persecuted by this government?"

Profound British influence

There is a proviso that there will be no change in the Rock's governance until the

people of Gibraltar agree to it, and this they are exceedingly unlikely ever to do. Although the Rock's population is ethnically mixed (a blend of Genoese, British, Spanish, Maltese and Portuguese), the vast majority of Gibraltarians are fervently loyal to Britain, and the Rock's history, culture and economy have been indelibly marked by 300 years of British rule. Two-thirds of the population are Gibraltarians – those born in Gibraltar before 1925 and their descendants. About one-fifth are resident aliens (including Indian shopkeepers and workers from Morocco), and the remainder are families of British personnel. Most inhabitants are bilingual in English and Spanish, although the official language is English.

Britain is responsible for defence and foreign policy and appoints the Governor as the representative of the Crown. However, Gibraltar is self-governing with an elected House of Assembly with 18 members – 15 elected by popular vote, one appointed as speaker and two *ex officio*; members serve a four year term. (There are plans to make the legislature into a 17 seat house, and reduce the powers of the Governor.) Whilst executive authority is vested in the Governor it is the Chief Minister and (usually) seven ministers who constitute the government of Gibraltar, with the other elected members constituting the opposition. Gibraltarians over 18 and British civilians resident for more than six months are entitled to vote.

The legal system is based largely on English common and statute law. Gibraltar's currency is the Gibraltar pound, but sterling is accepted on a one-to-one basis with the Gibraltar pound. There are no exchange controls with the UK. The Rock has an independent tax system and is a major offshore financial and shipping centre. The per capita GNP is approximately

US\$17,500. 60% of the labour force works in services and 40% in industry. Education is free and compulsory between the ages of five and 15. Educational facilities include several government primary schools and two comprehensive secondary schools. There are also private and military institutions, a school for handicapped children and a technical college. Much of this enviable infrastructure could be jeopardised if Gibraltar were to be handed over to Spain.

Spanish harassments

Gibraltar has a special relationship with the EU, under Article 227(4) of the Treaty of Rome. It is within the European Union by virtue of being a European territory for whose external relations Britain is responsible. Article 28 of the 1971 Accession Treaty relieves Gibraltar from the common tariff, the Common Agricultural Policy and harmonisation of turnover taxes, in particular VAT.

Yet since February 1983, Spain has been carrying out a series of policies and petty disruptions aimed at intimidating the people of Gibraltar. These include forcing all traffic going to the Rock into a single lane and insisting that all vehicles and passports are individually checked, causing long delays. Also commercial goods are only cleared between 8am and 3.30pm, and not at all at weekends. All of Spain's actions are against both the Treaty of Rome and the single market legislation, yet the British government has traditionally been unwilling to take the Spanish to court to enforce European law. However, this latest move is the most ominous development so far, and is causing much anxiety on the Rock.

On March 18th 2002, an estimated 15,000 of the Rock's just under 26,000 inhabitants took part in a mass rally against the proposals, in one of the largest protests ever to take place on the Rock. Addressing the rally, Peter Caruana, Gibraltar's Chief Minister, said "We the people are gathered today to declare that the future of Gibraltar, both in practice and principle, including our sovereignty, can be decided only by the people of Gibraltar...we reject and condemn as betrayal of our right and wishes as a people any declaration or agreement that makes in-principle sovereignty or other concessions to Spain against our wishes".

The proviso about Gibraltarian consent notwithstanding, the Gibraltarians are well aware that any concession towards joint sovereignty would make the Rock's constitutional position much less tenable.

Given the obligation the British Government have made to the people of Gibraltar, it must guarantee that there is good government, and that Spain fulfils its obligation under international law. Is it too much to ask that in Gibraltar – if not in Northern Ireland – loyalty and patriotism could for once be rewarded? □

Stephen Nash writes from Bournemouth

The Death of the West – why our sun is setting

Derek Turner talks to US journalist and politician Patrick Buchanan about his powerful new book

Can you sum up your thesis in *Death of the West*?

According to my research, there is not a single Western nation that has a birthrate today that will enable it to stay alive in its present form after the middle of this century. Between now and 2050, Europe alone will lose about 128 million people. In 2050, the median age of Europeans will be about 50, and 60 million Europeans – a tenth of the population – will be over 80. As Europeans begin to die out – losing the equivalent of the entire populations of Norway, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Germany – the Third World will explode, increasing by three or four billion people – the equivalent of 30-40 Mexicos. Great migrations to fill the West's empty spaces have already begun. Even now the Chinese are moving into Russia, which is dying faster than almost any other country. The Islamic peoples of North Africa and the Middle East are moving in the hundreds of thousands into Europe every year. One-fifth of Mexico's population is now within America's borders.

But is it as bad as you fear? In Peter Brimelow's *Washington Times* review of *Death of the West*, he says that your discussion of demographics could be qualified – that “while the West's share of the world's population is falling, this is only after a tremendous growth surge that dramatically expanded its share”. Isn't it possible that the present retreat is only a retreat to more defensible cultural, ethnic and psychological borders?

No, I don't think so. In 1960, for example, Western people were 25% of the world's population, and in the middle of the greatest baby boom in history. They are now down to 16%, and by 2050, they will be just 10%. Every single Western nation is dying. The European base of the American nation, which used to be 90%, is now down to 70%. On present trends, European-descended peoples will be a minority in the United States by mid-century. I can't see how Western civilisation can be preserved if the people who carry it in their hearts, minds and souls are dying out.

But in absolute terms, the West's population when we were at our height was far smaller than it is today. A few thousand Englishmen ran India for over 200 years. Whites ran South Africa for more than three centuries, and so on. Population quality is clearly more important than quantity. You have said yourself that “the correlation between power and population is not absolute”. Isn't this a possible source of comfort?

I quite agree that Europeans and Americans will be well-to-do, but if you take a look at what is happening inside these countries already, clearly European nations are not what they used to be. For example, some European countries used to have million-man armies when their populations were far smaller than they are today. Now, the European Union is having the devil's time of it fielding a Rapid Reaction Force of 60,000 men! The British used to be able to get that many across the Channel in the first couple of weeks. I don't believe that this can be turned around. I think the West is dying. The birth-rate peaked in the 1960s, and it has been declining ever since, right through the state of zero population growth, and it looks like it will continue declining to the stage of zero population.

An important point is that the correlation between the death of religious faith and the death of peoples and civilisation *is* absolute. I believe that the death of Christianity in the soul of Western man, and its replacement by a more materialistic, hedonistic, individualistic, *la dolce vita* belief, and the embrace of the sexual revolution combined, mean that Western man has consumed a carcinogenic that is killing him. Peoples that no longer believe in the cult out of which their culture and civilisation came will not sustain that civilisation. And as TS Eliot said: “If Christianity goes, the whole of our culture goes”. The Christian faith and belief in which Western man was marinated for 2,000 years was fundamentally the immune system of the West, which ward off all manner of psychic infections. But Christianity has

died, and been replaced by a new faith of secular humanism, which is having an effect on the West comparable to that of the HIV virus on a person. Eventually, it will kill us.

In *The Death of the West*, you have bemoaned the present lack of civilizational self-confidence in the West. But doesn't the decisive and ruthless American response to the attacks on the WTC and Pentagon demonstrate that there is still some degree of self-preservation and even self-assertiveness within the West?

There is no doubt that the United States is still a very tough country. Americans rallied behind the President after September 11, and the government managed to finish off the Taliban. But at the same time the government lacks the moral authority to stop illegal immigration into this country cold – even though that is the plain desire of the American people – in order that we can get our melting pot working again, and attempt to Americanise those who have come here since 1965.

On taking office, Dwight Eisenhower found that there were one million illegal immigrants in the country. He set up what he called Operation Wetback, and ordered them out of the country – and they went. If President Bush were to get up today, and say “We're going to conduct Operation Wetback II”, and seek to expel eight to 11 million illegal aliens, the American establishment would literally go berserk. [Editor's note: the US House of Congress has just voted by 245 votes to 138 to grant amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants.] I don't think he could do it; there would be a horrible reaction, even within his own party. *Human Events* [Editor's note: a leading conservative newspaper, based in Washington, DC] asked 17 US congressmen and senators a single question that required a Yes or No answer: “If someone has broken into the country illegally, should they be deported and sent home?” Only two congressmen or senators said Yes.

In the wake of September 11, have you detected a greater willingness to talk about immigration?

There is a tremendous willingness to talk about the issue. Led by Peter Brimelow and others (I came much later to the issue), we have convinced the American people, or they have persuaded themselves, that they want legal immigration rolled back to more reasonable levels and illegal immigration halted cold. But we live in a virtual democracy, where the people's will is not translated into policy.

Both party elites are very much beholden to the corporations and the unions, and they are politically intimidated. Both the corporations and the unions want an endless supply of new citizens and cheap labour. The corporations want to keep wages down, and the unions want an amnesty, so that they can organise all these illegals and get them paying union dues, so that they can maintain their existing lifestyles.

You have said that it is “a remarkable coincidence how global capitalism’s view of women conforms so precisely to the view of the fathers of global communism”. Can you explain what you mean by this?

Global capitalism and Marxism share a belief that it is far better to have women in the marketplace than at home. The old Marxists – Marx, Engels and the others – wanted to bring down the traditional family, and move women out of the home and into the marketplace, to make them independent of the family. The global capitalists want the same thing. Women who live at home are not consuming or producing enough, they think. Global capitalism seeks to make everyone an employee, everyone a worker. There is a tremendous premium on bringing into the marketplace talented and capable women workers – who are more reliable in many cases – so that they can boost productivity and consume more goods.

In an interview with – of all publications – *Pravda*, you said that Japan has lost her dynamism because of her high median age. How do you define dynamism?

In the 1980s, Japan was considered to be a kind of model nation. But now they are in serious trouble, with the economy getting weaker all the time. It has been said of the Japanese that they have “lost their animal spirits”. People are talking about various investment problems, and so forth, but the fundamental problem that has been ignored is that Japan is today the oldest nation on earth, with a median age of 41. The higher the median age, the lower the dynamism. The median age of Europe by 2050 will be 50, with Italy and Spain even worse off at 54 and 55 respectively. People in their 50s are far less aggressive economic animals than when they are in their 30s.

Won’t time solve the 1960s generation problem – albeit only in piecemeal fashion?

I don’t think so. Many teachers of the Sixties generation said “We will steal your children”, and they did. A significant part of America has converted to the ideas of the 1960s – hedonism, self-

Patrick J Buchanan

Born 1937

Education

Georgetown University (Honors, English and Philosophy);
Columbia School of Journalism,
Master’s Degree, 1962

Employment and political career

Commenced as editorial writer, *St Louis Democrat*, in 1962 (he was then the youngest editorial writer in the United States). Has contributed to many publications, including *National Review*, *Human Events*, *The Nation* and *Rolling Stone*, and is a syndicated newspaper columnist. He is also a television and radio co-host (NBC’s *The McLaughlin Group*, CNN’s *The Capital Gang* and *Crossfire*, and Mutual Radio’s *Buchanan & Co*).

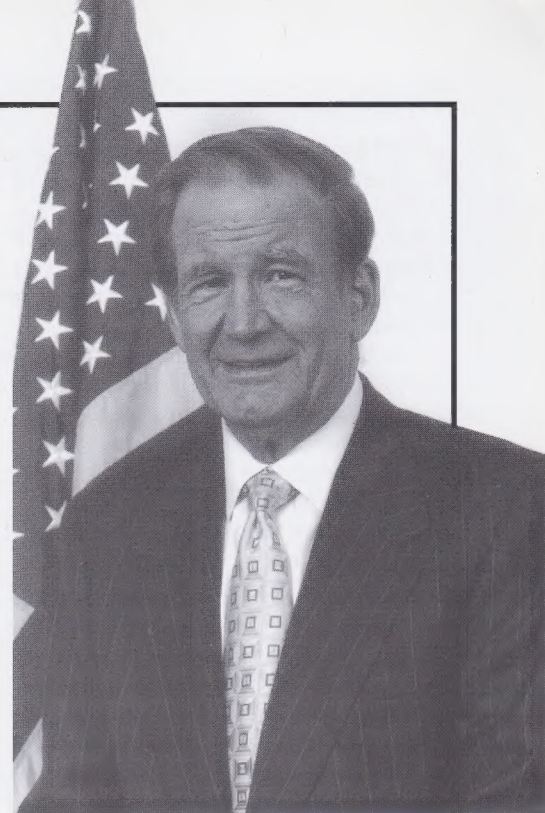
Full-time assistant and adviser to President Richard Nixon, 1966-1974. Adviser to President Gerald Ford, 1974.

White House Communications Director under President Ronald Reagan, 1985-1987. Ran for the Republican nomination for president in 1992 and 1996, and was the Reform Party’s presidential candidate in 2000.

In 1993, founded The American Cause, an educational foundation “dedicated to the principles of freedom, federalism, limited government, traditional values and foreign policy that puts America first”. For more information about The American Cause, e-mail: www.theamericancause.org, write to 115 Rowell Court, Falls Church, VA 22046, USA, or telephone +1 703 237 2034.

Publications:

The New Majority, 1973; *Conservative Votes, Liberal Victories*, 1975; *Right from the Beginning*, 1988; *The Great Betrayal*, 1998; *A Republic, Not an Empire*, 1999; *The Death of the West*, 2002.



indulgence and consumerism. For half of all Americans today, the Woodstock culture of the Sixties is the culture they grew up with – their traditional culture. For them, Judeo-Christian culture is outside the mainstream now. The counter-culture has become the dominant culture, and the former culture a dissident culture – something that is far out, and ‘extreme’.

One of the great Western virtues is freedom of enquiry and expression. Yet this very freedom of enquiry surely eventually calls into question religious faith. Does Western civilisation carry within itself the seeds of its own cultural destruction? Haven’t Western scientific advances undermined the claims of Christianity?

As a traditionalist Catholic who believes in natural law, I find no real conflict between true science and true faith. I still believe exactly as I have been taught, and I find no conflict between what I was taught and what I think are the truths of science. A lot of what we call science is actually faith in disguise. I think some people were desperately

searching for something other than traditional Christianity, and they have elevated to the level of hard truth some things – notably about Darwin – that have not yet been proven beyond dispute. To believe in the theory of evolution is to me as much of an act of faith as to believe in Adam and Eve. I don’t think it’s been proven at all. I remember Piltdown Man, and the bones of that ‘prehistoric ancestor of mankind’ in Africa that turned out to be the bones of a pig. There is a lot of hoax and fraud in the contentions of science. The theory of evolution contains as much hypothesis as any religion.

Isn’t there a contradiction between your general desire for smaller government and your desire for such government functions as censorship of obscene materials, better teaching of history, passing pro-life laws and protectionism?

As the first three of those suggested actions should only be done at local level, there is no contradiction. The federal government is a monstrosity, and there should be as much devolution of power as possible to local communities.

Continued overleaf ➤

For instance, should children be taught that evolution is absolutely true? The only way to decide these things satisfactorily is to have a majority vote at the most local level possible. Folk who disagree can then go to the school down the street, if they feel that strongly.

On the idea of protectionism, the second bill signed into law by Washington was the Tariff Act of 1789, and the United States pretty much lived on tariff revenues until about 1913. During that period – except for during the civil war – the federal government probably did not consume more than about 3% of the gross national product. So there is no conflict between tariffs and small government. The only alternative to tariffs is the monstrous, intrusive, anti-conservative income tax which requires 100,000 IRS agents to go over every dime and dollar you earned, and where you got it.

You have said that the Democratic Party is “beholden to feminism” and the GOP is “in thrall to libertarian ideology and controlled by corporate interests”. Are there any particularly notable individuals within either party who might be prepared to advance at least some parts of your programme?

I don't see any national figures at the moment. But the consequences of free trade are coming home to more and more people, and a reaction is growing. I do believe that many of my ideas are five years ahead of their time, or ten years ahead of their time, and among these policies is that of non-intervention in wars that are none of our business, bringing US troops home and making American economically self-sufficient again, by creating new manufacturing jobs. I think we're going to win on these issues. Among the general public, we won on the NAFTA debate; they did not want the GATT or to join the WTO; a majority agree with me on both legal and illegal immigration; they are not persuaded that a global or interventionist foreign policy is the way for America to go. I'm going to be right, but I may be dead – like Joe Chamberlain!

Your admiration for the writings of T S Eliot and James Burnham is well known. Is there a line or short verse from either of them that encapsulates everything you feel?

There is one that I use in my book. It comes from *The Hollow Men* –

“This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang, but a whimper.” □

The Death of the West: A primer on what ails Europe and the United States

Dwight Murphey reviews Partick Buchanan's important new book

Patrick Buchanan continues to write what are arguably the most thoughtful and informative books appearing today on culture, ideology and policy – and they certainly rank among the best ever written by an American political figure.

Their importance is derived in part from his subjects, which are central to the survival of the West: *In A Republic, Not an Empire*, he discussed the dangers of the United States' well-intended intervention into problems all across the globe, a process that makes “everybody's business Americans' business”. Those dangers were brought home with startling clarity on September 11. Now, in *The Death of the West* (St Martin's Press, 2002), Buchanan describes how Western civilisation is allowing itself to die and, as it dies, to be suffused by a Third World civilisation that is arising within the very corpus of the older society. His earlier four books,

“Buchanan describes how Western civilisation is allowing itself to die and, as it dies, to be suffused by a Third World civilisation that is arising within the very corpus of the older society”

on politics and economics, all show the quality of a mind that is penetrating, independent and refreshingly original.

In this book, Buchanan points to four “clear and present dangers” for peoples of European origin. The first is the reduction of the existing population everywhere throughout the West (except in Muslim Albania) through aging, dying and a far-below-replacement birthrate. The second is the massive influx of Third World immigration, which at an historically surprising pace is changing the face of their culture, their way of life, the types of their people, and even their core beliefs and loyalties. Third, he speaks of the continuing attacks upon national sovereignty as existing nations come under attack both from a centralizing “global order” and a secessionist fragmentation.

Fourth, he devotes much attention to the “adversary culture” that for many years has sought with considerable success to make the traditional culture in all Western countries loathsome and to replace it with a new ideology of ‘multiculturalism’. This ideology is backed by emerging demographic realities. Contrary to the past, it does not seek the assimilation of newcomers into the already-existing culture, which it seeks to

replace.

Although in this book Buchanan doesn't make a point out of a fifth danger, he could just as well cite the unspeakable risks he emphasised so well in *A Republic, Not an Empire*. There is no question but that hatreds building around the world in response to American interventions, which proceed on the assumption that Americans have a legitimate role in problems all over the world, constitute a “clear and present danger” to the United States and its allies. This is especially true in an age of potential biological, chemical, nuclear, cyber and other ‘asymmetrical’ warfare.

On all these subjects, his discussion is cogently reasoned and supported by abundant statistics and factual detail. His examination of the intellectual roots of the adversary culture gives the clearest treatment I have seen of the role of the Frankfurt School –

Georg Lukacs, Antonio Gramsci, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and their followers – in fashioning the “march through the institutions” that has occurred in recent decades as the Left has come to occupy virtually all the opinion-forming high ground in the United States and Europe.

That “march” is no accident; it has long been an ideological goal of the Left, and in fact goes back far earlier than the Frankfurt School and the 1920s. It is traceable to Rousseau and his tens of thousands of followers in the intellectual community since the 18th Century. Their alienated critique of ‘bourgeois culture’ has provided the steady drumbeat of modern art, literature and ideology. While Marxism-Leninism and much early socialist thought placed the ‘proletariat’ at the centre of revolution, it became apparent quite early to many on the Left that the alienated intelligentsia should seek allies in any unassimilated or disaffected group. The alienation and ally-seeking has determined the content of and set the tone for the adversary culture.

Buchanan's facts about the loss of population among peoples of European origin are startling. Demographers say that an average of 2.1 children per woman is

necessary simply to hold a population at a steady state. Western fertility rates have, however, been falling for many years. Here are some of those rates, as given by Buchanan: Britain, 1.66; Spain, 1.07; Italy, 1.2; Germany, 1.3; Russia, 1.35. The result? "Of Europe's 47 nations, only one, Muslim Albania, was, by 2000, maintaining a birthrate sufficient to keep it alive indefinitely". The population of Europe in 2000 "from Iceland to Russia, was 728 million". Without immigration, this is expected to fall to 600 million within fifty years.

Buchanan sees this as ominous in itself, but we can note that the 600 million will still be much larger than Europe's population historically. What makes the decline threatening so far as the survival of

illegal aliens slipped into the European Union, a tenfold increase from 1993". In the United States, the effect is that the burgeoning Hispanic population is becoming "a nation within a nation". Buchanan gives a short history of the relations between the United States and Mexico, and accurately observes that "Mexico has an historic grievance against the United States that is felt deeply by her people". It is no surprise that the new immigrants often strongly assert their own ethnic prerogatives. There is even a movement spoken of as "the reconquista" that calls for a "mestizo nation".

The Death of the West doesn't limit itself to the issues I have mentioned. Buchanan ponders, too, for example, why the opposition has been so feeble. His critique of the Republican Party in the United States, in which he was prominent for so many years, is worth noting; he sees the GOP as "in thrall to libertarian ideology and controlled by corporate interests". He says the party "has thrown in the towel on the social issues", choosing to focus instead on cutting marginal tax rates and removing the capital gains tax. He refers to the notion held widely among many conservatives that the defining characteristic of America is a commonly held creed – which is seen as able to exist even in the absence of a shared origin. Buchanan sees that this is an article of faith that quite precariously counts on the efficacy of ideas without roots.

Because of Buchanan and commentators like him, it is clear that if the West is transformed and supplanted by the forces he discusses, it will not be because the public in the mainstream society was not warned and provided the necessary facts and analysis. The alarm has been sounded for many years.

The reason the threatening trends are so intractable is that so few people within the West's mainstream population (ie, its majority population of European origin) are paying, or are even willing to pay, the slightest attention. Exhortations don't work with them. I can only state what I observe in the United States. Those around me are busy people preoccupied by the concerns of daily life: for the most part, after leaving college they don't read serious books (no doubt a commentary on their education); they don't want to be disturbed in the niche, often very dynamic and productive, each has carved out in life; and they even have a strong predisposition toward not taking a 'larger view' of anything if that is going to turn it

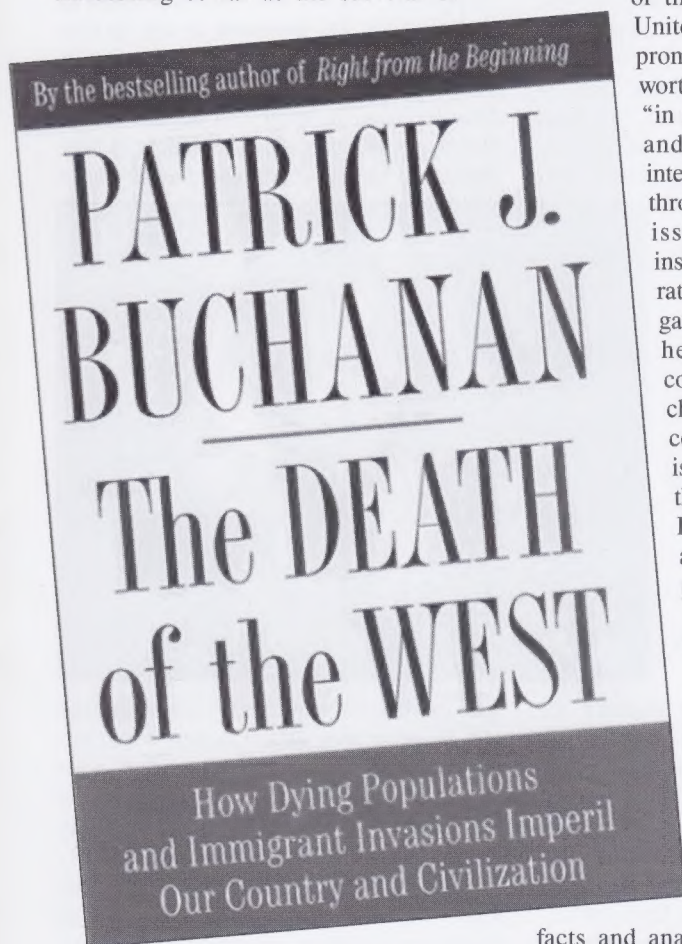
into an issue with which they will need to deal. They feel little motivation to react to anything that doesn't impinge upon their immediate interests, narrowly conceived. Since it involves no sacrifice, requires little thinking on their own part, and is in fact self-protective, many are willing to hold and sometimes even to act upon attitudes that are 'politically correct' (ie, that are respectable within the worldview of the opinion-makers, who overwhelmingly belong to the adversary culture).

In some contexts, it could be thought that this passivity is caused by intimidation of the majority. After all, the core culture has for many years been under slashing attack and its members made to feel guilty. But intimidation isn't fully explanatory. No one forces a couple, say, to attend the many films that now flaunt the four-letter words that were first insisted upon by Mario Savio's Free Speech Movement at Berkeley. Middle class women often come out of theatres muttering about "all that foul language", but that is as far as their reactions go. And when a movie is loaded with propaganda, most people are defensive in support of it, finding it profoundly uncomfortable to see beyond the story. In like manner, no one forces an American family to travel to Disney World to enjoy the amusements despite the Disney organisation's open sponsorship of 'homosexual days', even though most people find that offensive in itself. We must conclude that it is indifference and a desire not to be disturbed that is more fundamentally explanatory than intimidation.

This passivity may be endemic to a commercial civilisation, and it is sometimes a strength, creating an immunity to social infection. An interesting fact that goes back a long way is that this same passivity was the reason Marx a century and a half ago excoriated all forms of socialist thought that counted on exhortation as the way to change society. In place of that, he claimed to understand the "objective conditions" that impelled society toward socialism. This, to him, was "scientific socialism", while all else was impotent blather.

Those who champion Western civilisation indulge in no such pretensions. This makes them fall back on saying "here's what can be done – if only people will become alert to the dangers and do it". Buchanan, as one of them, gives many suggestions about how the dangers can be reversed. But inevitably he runs up against the question of whether his contemporaries within the West will even read his book, much less act upon it. Every such thinker will draw some satisfaction from knowing that "I, at least, did my best"; but there will later be little satisfaction in saying "I told you so". Did the shock of September 11 change any of this? That remains to be seen. □

Dwight D Murphey is a professor of business law at Wichita State University and a patron of *Right Now!*



The Death of the West is now available from **Right Now!**, PO Box 2085, London, W1A 5SX, UK. Cheques/postal orders etc should be made payable to 'Right Now!'. Price: £16.95 to UK customers (Europe – £17.95, Rest of World – £19.50) including post and packing.

Europe's unique civilisation is concerned would seem to be the decline's combination with the second danger – that of demographic swamping. The West has for several years been allowing a wave of Third World immigration.

"In 2000, England took in 185,000 immigrants, a record. In 1999, 500,000

A cold place for Protestants?

Nigel Dodds says that London's professed concern for Unionists is just hot air

On Wednesday 21st November, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Dr John Reid, delivered a speech to the Institute of Irish Studies at Liverpool University, in which he explored issues of identity and belonging relevant to the two communities in Northern Ireland.

He observed that the Roman Catholic community "breathes confidence, coherence, dynamism and energy. Roman Catholics are increasingly integrated into the highest levels of almost every area of economic and social activity, including government".

In contrast, the Protestant community "feels its traditions, culture, and way of life are under threat from an alliance between the large and vibrant Roman Catholic community within its boundaries, its larger neighbour to the South, and a spineless, ungrateful or even perfidious parent across the Irish Sea". Facing this reality, he asserted that, "Northern Ireland must not become a cold place for Protestants..."

These are fine words: I submit that they are nothing more. Dr Reid's speech was issued under the caveat "check against delivery" – and that is what I intend to do.

After thirty years of violence, thousands of deaths and countless injuries, the IRA claimed that there was peace. The violence continued, though at a lower level than before, the arms importation carried on, as did the planning and the targeting. The Unionist community asked for a sign of good faith that the war was over. We asked for arms to be decommissioned – to be put permanently and verifiably beyond use. If there was any concern whatsoever, to ensure that Northern Ireland did not become a cold house for Protestants, this was the issue to demonstrate it. And what was delivered? An event, carried out somewhere, we don't know where; by someone, we don't know who; involving something, we don't know what. We are told to trust the General [John de Chastelain, Chairman of the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning] – who when he is asked questions, either refuses to answer or engages in word games designed to disguise the truth. We are asked to accept a system built upon a nod and a wink; and once again, republicans walk away laughing, clutching another fistful of concessions.

In terms of the policing situation, the Northern Ireland Office has run roughshod over the wishes of the Unionist community. In November the name change was carried out, with people coming like thieves in the night to remove RUC crests from stations. We now have 50-50 recruitment into the

police – and what we see now is that if a Roman Catholic recruit drops out, a Protestant recruit loses his place to keep the balance.

The new police service is to be overseen by a Policing Board, which from day one has been given a Roman Catholic majority. New emblems are under consideration, which do absolutely nothing to recognise that Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom and, as opinion polls have shown, do nothing to command the respect of the local community.

All this has been done in the name of bringing nationalists on board. Yet Sinn Féin/IRA remain outside, demanding more concessions, and doubtless these will

"Much has been made of the intimidation of children at the Holy Cross Primary School, which I agree is unacceptable, yet little attention has been paid to the Protestant children who have been attacked on school buses, or the Protestant schools that have dozens of windows smashed every weekend"



continue to flow, with little concern for Protestant isolation.

The political institutions produced by the Belfast Agreement were loaded against the Unionist community from day one, with the D'Hont system, cross-community consent and everything else. Everything was done to ensure that Unionists were kept down.

Despite continued efforts to mask it, the rampant North-Southerly continues, contrary to the freely expressed will of the Unionist community. Despite claiming that our right to self-determination and to be part of the United Kingdom has been recognised, ten so-called 'implementation bodies' continue their work, while pro-agreement ministers bend over backwards to facilitate the North-South Ministerial Council and to develop programmes and projects with a cross-border dimension. Every day, good government in Northern Ireland is compromised in favour of a 'green' political agenda.

In the current financial year, spending on cross-border activity amounts to more than £10million, financed by a rates increase more than double the level of inflation. This agenda is financed out of the pockets of every

householder and business owner in Northern Ireland, yet all it serves to do is create and sustain a bureaucracy that exists for its own sake rather than for any positive results that it brings.

Another keystone of the Belfast Agreement, designed to deliver a just and lasting peace, was the so-called equality agenda, which gave us the Equality Commission and the Human Rights Commission. These organisations are supposed to safeguard our rights, yet their very make-up does not reflect the community in Northern Ireland. Yes, there are republicans; yes, there are nationalists; there are pro-Agreement Unionists and let's not forget the Women's Coalition. But are there anti-Agreement Unionists? Are there DUP supporters? No, not one. The clear majority of Unionists are opposed to the Belfast Agreement, yet they are given no voice on these most important of statutory bodies. This situation in itself is a breach of our human rights. And what has John Reid done about it? He has reappointed eight out of

nine existing Human Rights Commissioners – without an open advertisement – and has appointed four new Commissioners, none of whom reflects the viewpoint of the majority of Unionists. Does anyone seriously think that if Tony Blair created such a body for England, that it would not reflect the views of New Labour? Yet Unionists in Northern Ireland are expected to put up with such an intolerable situation.

In addition, the equality agenda is constantly being used by republicans as a stick with which to beat the Unionist community. For example, in November, an Ulster Unionist-controlled council in Lisburn, which was recently visited by Her Majesty the Queen, voted to restrict the flying of the Union flag from its civic building. In my own council in Belfast, Sinn Féin/IRA have commenced a campaign to have flags and emblems removed from the City Hall because they create a symbolic atmosphere that is entirely British in character and therefore offensive and unwelcoming to republicans. We as Unionists will fight to ensure that this does not happen, but how can we hope to have a fair hearing

when the equality and human rights bodies are stacked against us?

And of course, we can look at the Northern Ireland Office's other great triumph in its relationship with the Protestant community – the Parades Commission. Set up with one purpose only, to constrain and restrict the expression of Protestant cultural identity, it has been biased from the outset. It has simply handed more weapons to republicans, if more were needed, to enable them to further humiliate and degrade the Protestant community, particularly in vulnerable areas like Newry and North Belfast.

In terms of Northern Ireland becoming a cold place for Protestants, there is no area where Protestants feel that cold wind bite more than in my own North Belfast constituency. No doubt you will have watched and read much about the blockade of the Holy Cross Primary School. However, rather than simply condemn those involved, I would suggest that it is more productive to ask what has driven ordinary people into such an extraordinary situation.

The reality of the situation in North Belfast is very different to that portrayed in the media. For the past thirty years, Protestant communities like Glenbryn, Tiger's Bay and the White City have been isolated and eroded by republican terrorism. More than 20,000 Protestants have left North Belfast as a result of this campaign, leaving only the most disadvantaged behind and creating deprived neighbourhoods that suffer from acute social disadvantage and a lack of any confidence. Throughout the summer, these areas were put under virtual siege by IRA-orchestrated mobs, and this intimidation continues to the present day.

Much has been made of the intimidation of children at the Holy Cross Primary School, which I agree is unacceptable, yet little attention has been paid to the Protestant children who have been attacked on school buses, or the Protestant schools that have dozens of windows smashed every weekend, or even the fact that Protestant children in Glenbryn are not permitted to use the local public library, because republicans intimidate them away from it.

The situation in North Belfast is about territory. It is about republicans forcing Unionists out by any and every means at their disposal. On a day-to-day basis, this means those who are orchestrating the violence at night are orchestrating a campaign of physical violence and intimidation by day, to ensure that the Unionist community are denied resources and denied the opportunity to regenerate their areas. For example, on the 27th of November, in my capacity as Northern Ireland Assembly Minister for Social Development, I announced a £16 million housing investment for two Unionist areas for North Belfast which have been badly affected by republican violence. Despite the fact that these areas were independently

assessed as being in chronic need, and despite the fact that my department is also spending millions of pounds to address housing problems in nationalist areas of North Belfast, Gerry Kelly, the local Sinn Féin Assembly Member – who, incidentally, bombed the Old Bailey – was immediately on television castigating me for giving money to Unionist areas. This complete absence of generosity of spirit permeates not only North Belfast, but the entire political process in Northern Ireland. As far as the Unionist community is concerned, the Northern Ireland Office is complicit in their campaign.

So, scrutiny of just a few examples has demonstrated that the actions of John Reid and the government that he represents do not match up to his honeyed words. If he is really serious about delivering a Northern Ireland that is not a cold place for Protestants, then he has a lot of work to do. □

Nigel Dodds, OBE, MLA, is Democratic Unionist Party MP for North Belfast. This is an edited version of a speech made to the London Swinton Circle, on 28th November 2001



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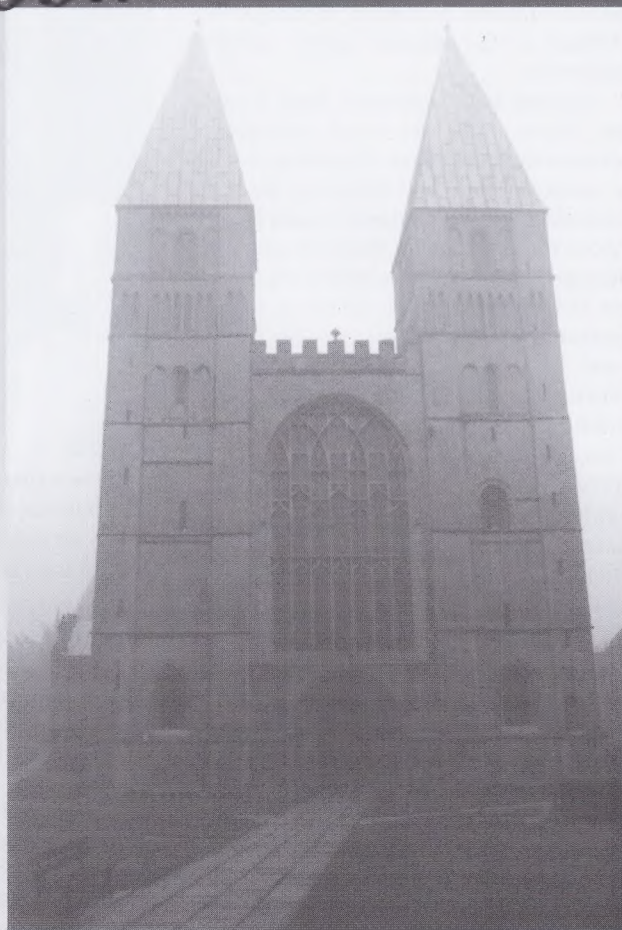
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Overlooked Britain

The fog-enshrouded west front of Southwell Minster in the Trent valley. Southwell is renowned for the delicate foliage carvings in the chapter house. Appropriately, Southwell is also the home of the Bramley apple. The original tree was planted in about 1805.

Charles I stayed in the 17th Century Saracen's Head on his way to raise his standard at Nottingham in 1646, and again on his way back to surrender to the Scots at Kelham. Lord Byron lived in the town whilst studying at Harrow. He didn't like it very much, describing it as "a detestable residence" – but John Byng's 1789 description of "a well-built clean town" is nearer the mark.



Islam in Britain

Alfred Sherman believes we need a full and frank discussion
about British Islam

The presence of two to three millions of Muslims in this country with all the rights and privileges of citizenship but none of the attachment to the nation is not the beginning of the story. It begins with deep unexplained changes in the British psyche – or at least that of our political classes – after the Second World War, which brought about mass third-world immigration and the devaluation of Englishness/Britishness as a defining identity and tie. Why this should have come about awaits explanation. How it will end is a matter for conjecture. To spell it all out is complicated by the absence of guidelines or criteria. Britain not only has no written constitution; many staples of national life have been taken for granted, never defined, which left them vulnerable to assault. The law does not define an Englishman; for generations it did not need to. The term ‘nationality’ as used officially means citizenship, not nationhood, which lacks legal or political expression. For centuries Englishness and Britishness and their Christian roots could be taken for granted. They can no longer be, but ideas and terminology have lagged behind changing realities, and so have attitudes among our masters. Hence the two to three million Muslims in Britain, an indigestible offshoot of the Muslim *umma* (nation) worldwide.

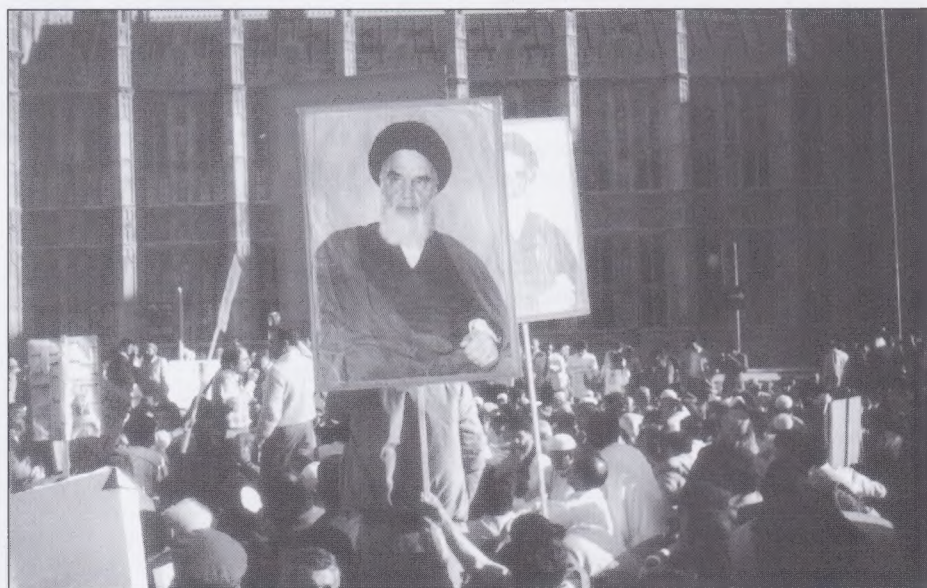
Muslim mass settlement dates back to the Sixties, after the rough equivalence between nationhood and citizenship came to an unspoken end, and following the mass importation of West Indians to meet alleged labour shortages and of Sikh refugees from Burma. Thirty years is a very short time in the history of a nation, which is usually measured in generations, so conclusions must be drawn cautiously. But certain conclusions already present themselves. Britain is not nineteenth century America where European masses came in order to become Americans. Even if some were hyphenated Americans, most were Americans first. Islam is more than a religion, it is an identity, a way of life, a civilisation. Britain was for centuries the national home of the British ‘multination’. If it ceases to be that, what is it? The Muslims remain Muslims first, and colonists from their region of origin second. They cannot become Englishmen or Britons, in any sense other than the technical. To say that they are Muslims first does not imply criticism or ‘Islamophobia’, but is a simple fact of life. So far, there are no signs in the Muslim world of the secularisation which has affected large parts of the Christian

world, for better or worse, for the longer or shorter term. Nor is national or nationalist feeling, as we know it in the West, highly developed, except among Turks and Kurds. Your Muslim remains *homo religiosus*.

A body of the size and nature of Muslim settlement in Britain demands massive and intellectually coherent studies, which have so far been shirked. What studies have been published are characterized by intellectual paucity and *a priorism*. Many of them are devoted to proving that Muslims are victims of racial discrimination – that in a country which has permitted or even encouraged mass alien immigration from backward countries equal to a tenth of its population and spent vast sums of money on their welfare and in vain attempts to integrate them, while shirking enquiry into what ‘integration’ could conceivably mean, or what its implications would be for the native English. Muslim and other immigrants to this country are far better off than they would be at home. That is why they crowd in. But

tracing cause and effect, least of all questioning the rationale of mass alien immigration. We need studies in various dimensions of this mass equal in size to Catalonia or Estonia.

Mass immigration of Muslims, among other alien minorities, was originally advocated on the grounds that the Commonwealth was an ethno-political unit, which it obviously was not, that Britain suffered from a labour-shortage, at a time when vast resources were being spent on creating more employment, and that ethno-cultural diversity strengthens a state, in spite of a world of evidence to the contrary. One motivation for encouraging mass Muslim immigration, the source of so many current problems, was the shortage of labour in British textile industries. It will be remembered that the post-war Labour government – seeking to fulfil a naïve bipartisan war-time promise of government-imposed full employment, combined with the desire to preserve existing patterns of employment – decided to expand the British textile industry. As the late Professor Jewkes, writing for the IEA, warned at the time, this would be hopelessly uneconomic and throw heavy burdens on consumers, taxpayers and the economy. But warnings were to no avail. Since pay and conditions offered in the textile industry competed badly with alternative



A portent that was ignored: in 1989 thousands of Muslims took to the streets demanding that Salman Rushdie be executed for writing the *Satanic Verses*. Their attitudes were in sharp contrast to those of ordinary Britons, who were perhaps bemused that anyone should take Rushdie's pretentious ramblings that seriously.

there are no expressions of gratitude, only complaints. Our phenomenal generosity is not praised but denounced for alleged racism.

This in a country obsessed with racism and oblivious to legitimate concerns of the indigenous population subjected to mass immigration. Hence the owl's stupidity of recent reports on Muslim riots in the North, which add up to the bleating that it would be better if things were different from what they are, without the slightest concert for

opportunities, including the black economy and welfare, labour for textiles was in short supply. Hence the powers that be decided to open the flood-gates to mass Asian immigration. In spite of this the textile industry has continued to decline, undermining Asian employment, predictably leaving matters worse than before.

Without necessarily damning all government intervention and proclaiming unbridled *laissez-faire*, one can honestly say

that increased intervention in economic life since the Second World War has been almost universally disastrous, and intellectually untenable. In this context, intervention has been designed simultaneously to offset unemployment and labour shortages without analysing the nature and causes of either, or the relationship between these two conflicting policies. The confusion has lasted till this day, and shows no sign of resolution. It entailed huge expenditure on keeping open uneconomic and very unhealthy mines – leaving mass medical problems – while importing immigrants into mining areas to fill necessary jobs. These policies sank tens of billions into iron and steel, unsaleable cars and empty trains in addition to heavily subsidised and protected textiles designed to preserve employment for Asians. These diseconomies are partly to blame for our ethnic problems, but only partly; the full causes lie deep in the national psyche.

Muslims from former British India came in all shapes and sizes, including professionals and businessmen, but the majority were rural and relatively backward, unable to overcome inherent obstacles to social mobility in Britain. This was bound to engender grievances and defensive attitudes, since there is a natural tendency for successful minorities to credit their own endeavours and the unsuccessful to blame circumstances, among them ethno-religious discrimination, in which they are encouraged by the race-relations lobby.

Whereas the immigrant generation compares its lot favourably with what it left behind, the locally born and brought up focus on their disadvantages and blame British society. Since their main contacts are either with officialdom or the less advantaged, successful and educated sections of British society, their alienation has deep roots.

The conflict between Euro-America and Muslim radicalism adds bite. The vast majority of Muslims here are torn between world Muslim solidarity and the desire to preserve their status here. They have been given an easy ride, no bad thing perhaps, but they should not be encouraged to push their luck too far. I repeat my earlier assertion that the main problem is not the Muslims – or for that matter Hindus, Sikhs, Africans, Chinese, etc – but the British, who have lost a sense of identity which stood them in good stead for centuries, and the will to preserve it. The Muslim problem is *our* creation.

The mosque remains the focus of Muslim life in Britain. The overwhelming majority of Muslims here are literal believers. Since Islam posits an afterlife, at least for men, with alternatives of heaven and hell allocated at judgement day according to behaviour in this life, Muslims in Britain are automatically subjected to the same religious and social disciplines as they are in *darulislam*, reinforced by social pressures.

Some beliefs and social pressures are comparable to those prevailing in many Christian societies in earlier centuries; they seem likely to prevail among Muslims for the foreseeable future. This gives great political influence to the religious leadership. Data on its qualifications and socio-political attitudes are patchy. Those Muslims who make public pronouncements are not necessarily most representative. Those who fit in best to British life are the least noticed.

In that context it is worth pointing out that statistical information is suspect owing to massive illegal and fraudulent immigration. Hence the quoted figure of two to three million. Their numbers are increasing comparatively rapidly – again we deal with estimates – due to high birth rate and the widespread importation of marriage partners. If any government has the will to tackle this backdoor immigration, it would be wise to do so soon, before immigrant communities develop fuller political potential, which will take a decade or two, and further increase in numbers. Then they could hold the political balance between Right and Left. Could the British become a minority here, as the Serbs are now in Bosnia and Kosovo?

At present, though we have many ministries, no one is responsible for national questions, neither those created by mass immigration nor those of the indigenous nation. The Scots and Welsh now have national assemblies and symbols; the English have not. We need foci of responsibility for the nation. There were days when the Anglican Church might have assumed this, but they are well behind us. But if the right people do not take up the issue, it will eventually gravitate into the hands of the wrong ones. The Muslims claim to faith schools should not be a bone of contention. If Christian parents have the right to a religion-based education for their children why not Muslim taxpayers? One does not have the right to impose forcible



"We need full and frank discussion of the problems created by the Moslem presence" – an Asian youth is arrested by police, during last summer's riots in the north of England

mixing and, in any case, given residential segregation, it would not work anyway. Having made the bed of mass alien immigration, we must lie on it. The only difference would be small. Where we go from here remains to be argued. But we must not make immigrant communities scapegoats for our errors.

These are some preliminary considerations on facets of massive Muslim colonisation of Britain, part of the mass Third World presence, of so-called multiculturalism which negates Britain's defining character as the Englishman's national home, part of world Islam's expansion beyond the borders of *darulislam*. We need full and frank discussion of the problems created by the Muslim presence free from blackmailing accusations of 'xenophobia', 'Islamophobia' or 'racism'. A nation's future and society's peace are at stake. But in the end we come back to the vacuum which drew in the aliens, the process of deracination which lies at the root of this country's ills, including mass immigration and its consequences. If we cannot identify and cure that, our efforts will be in vain. □

Sir Alfred Sherman was a co-founder of the Centre for Policy Studies and an advisor to Margaret Thatcher.

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General Sir Walter Walker, KCB, CBE, DSO – an appreciation

DGT Horsford remembers a fine soldier, and close friend

General Sir Walter Walker, who died last year, was a much-decorated soldier, a great patriot and one of *Right Now's* distinguished patrons. (An interview with Sir Walter and a review of his autobiography, *Fighting On*, appeared in RN 25.) His death was rued by, amongst others, the *Daily Telegraph's* "Peter Simple", Michael Wharton, who said that Walter Walker was "everything a British general should be" and "a fine example of a certain type of Englishman", and wondered "Is that type altogether extinct?" We are pleased to publish this personal memoir from a former comrade, himself a valiant military man.

When I joined the 1/8th Gurkhas in Quetta in 1938, Walter Walker was adjutant and a very efficient adjutant he was. I had travelled across India with my two dogs in a first-class compartment but with a third class ticket, and none for my dogs, because I had spent the cash given to me by the Indian government for my journey and could only afford a third class ticket. I was not found out until I reached my destination, when the stationmaster reported me to my CO, who had come to meet me with his adjutant. The CO ordered Lieutenant Walker to get on his bicycle and pedal three miles uphill to borrow a vast sum of money from the regimental contractor to bail me out. I suppose it wasn't surprising that Walker never spoke to me for the first six weeks, but eventually we became great friends.

He used to hold an adjutant's parade for the whole battalion every Saturday and would drill us for up to three hours until every movement was perfect. About once every six weeks an officer had to perform the duties of the British Officer of the Week, the daily duties being carried out by Gurkha officers. Before I carried out my first duties, the adjutant said that I was to understudy him. We met outside the mess at 11pm dressed in mess kit, with our bicycles. Our first duty was to visit the guardroom inside the general's compound. Walker spent nearly an hour questioning the sentry and the guard commander. We then bicycled down to Quetta town to visit the arsenal, which had four sentry posts, and quizzing them took about two hours. This was followed by a bicycle ride of three miles to the battalion quarter guard, followed by an inspection of about 600 soldiers' beds to ensure their mosquito nets were serviceable and properly tucked in. We arrived back at the mess at about 6am, when Walker said to me "Time for a shave, a cup of tea and change into uniform and I'll see you on parade at 7 o'clock".

All this happened within one week of my joining the battalion and gives an insight into Walter Walker's character, his efficiency, devotion to duty and energy. I served with him and under him in several appointments and got to know him extremely well.

General Sir Walter Colyear Walker



Born 11th November 1912. Married 1938 (wife died 1990); two sons, one daughter.

Education

Blundell's; Sandhurst

Military career

Waziristan, 1939-1941 (mentioned in despatches twice); Burma, 1942 and 1944-46 (mentioned in despatches, DSO); Malaya, 1949-59 (mentioned in despatches twice, OBE, Bar to DSO, CBE); Bt Lt Colonel, 1952; Atomic Trials, Maralinga, 1956; Director of Operations, Borneo, 1962-65 (CBE, Bar to DSO); Deputy Chief of Staff, HQ AFCENT, 1965; Acting Chief of Staff, 1966-67; GOC-in-C, Northern Command, 1967-69 (KCB); Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces Northern Europe, 1969-1972; Colonel, 7th Duke of Edinburgh's Own Gurkha Rifles, 1964-75; various Malaysian decorations for his successful counter-insurgency work

Publications

The Bear at the Back Door, 1978;
The Next Domino, 1980; *Fighting On*, 1997

We served together on the North-West Frontier in 1939/40, when he was adjutant and I was quarter master – an appointment in the Indian Army held for a year or two by a combatant officer. I would work until midnight and then go into Walter's room to say goodnight, when he would say that he had a couple of hours more work to do and was then going to write to his wife. He was indefatigable. When the Battalion left the frontier, Walter had been posted to the staff

and he watched the whole battalion drive out of camp leaving him behind. He was in tears to see us go without him.

He was very ambitious but he had the courage of his convictions and didn't mind what he said to senior officers if he was convinced that he was right. On one occasion, the army commander, a four-star general, sent for Walker, who was a major-general, and ordered him to do something. Walter refused, knowing the order to be ridiculous, and said to the army commander "You really are a stupid man". The army commander was appalled, and threatened Walter with arrest. Walter replied "You can't; there are no witnesses!" He was a thorn in the side of many officers and once told the Chief of the General Staff how to do his job! He disliked staff officers on principle, and referred to those working in MOD as "Whitehall warriors". This didn't endear him to the top brass, nor to those officers whom he sacked for inefficiency, but those who survived would go to the ends of the earth for him.

I didn't always agree with his methods. Everything was apt to be black and white, with no allowance for grey areas. An officer serving under Walter was either efficient or, in his opinion, inefficient and therefore must be sacked. So often, in my experience, an officer falls between the two at regimental duty or on the staff, and if he falls short of the standard one expects then he can be trained. I remember a divisional commander I served under in Burma who when handing over to a rather inhuman general, said of him "He sacks them, I train them".

He was a brave and forceful commander, and when he was commanding a Gurkha battalion fighting against the Japs in Burma, or the communist terrorists in Malaya, he would accompany a patrol, or the unit carrying out an operation, to make sure they were doing it the correct way. He was a great soldier, ending up as a four star general, with a KCB, CBE, three DSOs and several mentions in despatches, plus several Malaysian honours and awards.

I knew Walter very well for over 60 years and we knew each other's families well, and often met. He had a delightful sense of humour, which many officers who served under him found difficult to believe. During the last 25 years, Walter lived about 20 miles from me. My wife and I used to visit him periodically, and although it was lovely to see him and reminisce and laugh with him, it was very sad to see him so crippled with pain and virtually confined to his house. When his daughter – who is my God-daughter – rang me up and told me of her father's death, it was a nasty shock to think that I would never be able to go and see him again, but on the other hand a blessing that he would be relieved of the agonising pain he had suffered for so many years. □

Major-General DGT Horsford,
CBE, DSO + Bar, writes from Dorset

On 7th November 2001, the government announced its blueprint for the second stage of its reform – or should one say wanton vandalism? – of the House of Lords. Having previously stripped the right of all but 92 hereditary peers to sit and vote in their Lordships' House, the government now proposes to end the right of the remaining hereditary peers to sit and vote in the upper house, and radically alter the membership of the House of Lords. Consultation on the government's White Paper, *House of Lords: Completing the Reform*, ended at the end of January, and a bill will no doubt be presented to Parliament shortly to implement its proposals.

The government proposes that the new House should eventually be made up of 600 members, of whom just 120 would be directly elected by the public from regional party lists, similar to those used in European parliamentary elections (in which electors vote for parties, not individual candidates, and it is up to party leaders and managers to decide which candidates to return as elected members from a pre-printed list), with a further 332 peers being nominated by the party leaders in proportion to their elected strength in the Commons, 120 non-party peers being chosen by an 'independent' Appointments Commission (a cross-party body made up of senior politicians in all parties who will decide which apolitical peers will sit in the Lords), 16 (as opposed to the existing 26) Anglican bishops and 16 law lords.

Whilst, in future, men and women may be raised to the peerage via the honours system, under the government's proposals being a peer will not automatically make one eligible to sit and vote in the House of Lords. The 600 members of the revised house will be known as simply Mr X ML or Mrs/Ms Y ML (ML standing for Member of the House of Lords). Titles belonging to existing hereditary and life peers will not necessarily be abolished, but their holders' right to sit and vote in parliament's second chamber will be dependent upon whether or not they are elected from a regional list or nominated by their party leader (if they belong to a political party), or appointed to sit in the house for a fixed term by the Appointments Commission (if they are non-partisan). The proposals further recommend an upper age limit of 75 for all MLs, and that the Appointments Commission addresses the under-representation of women and ethnic minorities in the House of Lords through the introduction of quotas for women and ethnic minorities appointed as MLs.

These proposals should be opposed strongly. Unfortunately, while the Conservative Party's counter-proposal, for a wholly elected second chamber, might address the main criticism of the government's proposals – ie, that only 20% of members of the new-look House of Lords will be directly elected – this will surely

Unkind hearts – and no coronets

Christopher Luke dissects Labour's latest proposals for the House of Lords

call into question which House is more representative of the electorate as a whole. This risks placing both Houses on a permanent collision course with each other, particularly if elections to the two houses are on different dates or return members using different voting systems.

The hereditary principle – already weakened by the first stage of Lords reform, and the creation of pseudo-presidents at regional and local level (ie, First Ministers in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and directly elected mayors in English municipalities) – will be further undermined. This must place a huge question mark over the long term future of the hereditary nature of the monarchy itself, and a parallel question mark against the future unity of the Kingdom, when overmuch attention is being made to promote parochial personalities at the expense of respect for our national institutions, and the very parliament from whence all authority is ultimately derived.

The introduction of regional party lists will tighten the grip of party leaders over their party's prospective elected representatives, as few leaders will nominate those who are likely to question their authority or the official party line. This will further diminish independence of mind, and serve only to suppress minority opinions within all parties and lessen each party's ability to attract a broad base of electoral support and cross-section of opinion. This will hardly benefit democracy. Also, treating the UK as regions in this sense will further accelerate the growing, divisive tendency of regarding the UK as a grouping of regions, rather than as a nation.

The creation of a highly-politicised Appointments Commission to oversee which 'apolitical' MLs are appointed to sit and vote in the House must call into question the independence of the Commission and those to whom it decides to afford full membership rights of the Lords. There will be suspicions that it will be in thrall to the Commission of Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission, on whose behalf it will be appointing more ethnic minority and women MLs, who are unable to secure membership via other channels. Its proposed remit to appoint more female and ethnic minority MLs, whilst simultaneously reducing the number of Anglican bishops (however understandable though it may be, following declining membership of the Church of England and the growth in other Christian denominations and non-Christian religions), may well be interpreted as a giant step

towards the disestablishment of the Church of England, and preparation for de-Protestantising the Coronation Oath for a future monarch (assuming we still have a monarch by then, and have not already become a republic). A further problem is that setting an upper-age limit for membership of the second chamber may well deprive parliament of some of its most experienced and learned statesmen.

Indeed, perhaps the most surprising aspect about these latest proposed reforms is that they do not recommend the appointment of leaders of other Christian denominations and non-Christian religions as MLs. But as Labour's commitment to multiculturalism and anti-Westernism is unquestionable, many suspect that other 'spiritual leaders' will be afforded representation in the Lords as of right before the ink dries on the blueprint for reform.

In short, the government's plans are nothing short of a direct assault upon the Crown, the unity of the UK and the liberties of the individual, and should be opposed root and branch by all freedom-loving patriots. □

Christopher Luke is Editor of *Unionist* and a contributing editor, *Right Now!*

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Salter losing his savour

Lambing season is well advanced. Prominent among this season's sacrificial lambs is Martin Salter, Labour MP for Reading West, the only MP to stand up for the government over the Mittal scandal. An uncomfortable position indeed for Martin, who says that being an MP is work enough (and indeed he makes hard work of it), and scorns the lucrative directorships enjoyed by many other MPs. No doubt his skills as an experienced playscheme worker would command a premium in the marketplace.

His performance on *Newsnight* in February was so lacklustre that the worried *Guardian* diarist telephoned him the next day, to check that he was in good health. Indeed, he was in rude health, telling the journalist that she was a "f***ing rude bitch" and that he was not prepared to be "f***ing insulted", ending with the forcefully expressed wish that the journalist "p*** off!"

Marty is a passionate bloke, known and feared for his ability to come out with an opinion on absolutely everything. It is almost as if his opinions were ready-made. The *Guardian*'s Simon Hoggart summed it up well in January 2000: "I've sat near people like Mr Salter on the tube. The trick is not to engage with them".

He lives in a state of constant, high-octane outrage. Even uncontroversial topics are discussed with unusual warmth, which really cannot be very good for his heart. After a debate on air traffic control, the *Guardian* noted how Salter was "virtually wiping the spittle from his shirt" as he sat down.

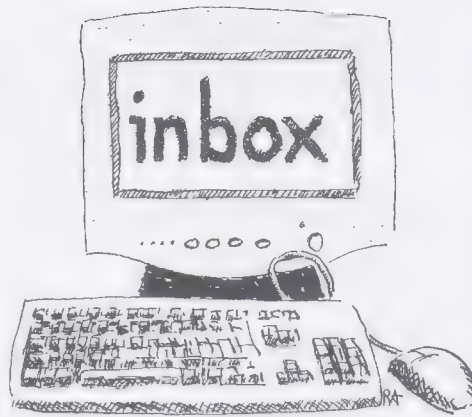
His energetic manner has often landed him in trouble. The relationship he had with Jane Griffiths, Labour MP for Reading East, was described by the *Guardian* as "one of the Labour Party's most brutal and damaging internal battles". During a fact-finding night out with the Reading Police in July 2000, he was almost arrested by one police officer who did not know who their distinguished guest was. As a police source said at the time: "It is not surprising he could be mistaken for a criminal". All in all, Marty looks set fair to become a Labour whip.

Hain't sensible

Peter Hain, the Minister against Britain, admitted in early March that he should not have said that "the enemies of the Euro are the enemies of Europe" and conceded that many opponents of the Euro were pro-European. He also admitted to the meeting at the Northern Ireland Chamber of Commerce that it was "not a sensible thing to have said".

Ejukashen, Ejukashen, Ejukashen

Those outdated reactionaries who thought that modern education is betraying a whole generation of children need to think again. According to the *Daily Telegraph* of the 10th January, whizzkid Education Minister,



Estelle Morris, has welcomed a "visionary" new approach to education (or at least a "vision for the medium term"). The Department of (or 'for') Education is seriously considering replacing teachers with computers, thus no doubt liberating teachers from the trials of getting up, going to St Hooligan's each day and teaching the nation's nasty little spankers. Now, those poor teachers, in their tweed jackets with patched-up arms and Cornish pastie shoes, need only sit in the staff room, drinking powdered coffee, whilst an Apple Mac tries desperately to put over the finer points of African irrigation schemes, or algebra for the hard of thinking. But how long will these replacement 'teachers' last, we cynics ask ourselves? And how much crack could you buy with the proceeds of a behind-the-shed computer sale?

Hell O sailor - Gay Tories all at sea

On 8th December 2001 Tory 'modernisers' Frances Maude and Archie Norman were interviewed in the *Daily Telegraph* about the imminent launch of their new 'social liberal' website. This website was to be entitled *xchange*, a name redolent of pornographic websites. "That's all one word" said Maude. "It's frightfully modern". Very modern! - a line in dialogue that could have come straight out of a 1930s drawing room comedy.

Fast forward to February and the www.xchange.org.uk website consists of a single pitiful page begging surfers to supply their names so that "we can keep you up to date with developments, including the launch of our full website". Plainly this gruesome twosome couldn't organise a gangbang in a gay flophouse. In the meantime *xchange* has acquired a supremo: self-confessed homosexual Nicholas Boles, who represents the Tory Party on Westminster Council, a long-standing base for the London-based Tory gay mafia. Until recently Boles shared a flat with the ex-Tory, ex-ICA, gay prima donna Ivan 'Massow' (real name Field).

A marginally more interactive 'social liberal' site is to be found at www.Connectweb.org. Webmaster is confirmed bachelor Tory libertarian Paul Gray, mysteriously known to his friends as

"Cellophane Man". Click on the site's somewhat less than all-singing, all-dancing links to learn how future Tory themes must include diversity, inclusiveness, empowerment and the rest of the PC vocabulary *ad nauseam*. A diverting intellectual discourse penned by Gray himself is rather spoilt by the revelation that he believes the plural of Nazi to be "Nazi's", as in "a lovely bunch of banana's". Unfortunately any attempt to add guestbook entries to the paltry three (all friends of Gray) already on the site is doomed to failure, and efforts to join his various discussion forums are rewarded with the response "0 discussions have new messages". Maybe he forgot to pay his hosting fees.

Amusing as they are, these ineffectual buffoons prove that the so-called movement for 'social liberal' Tory reform is nothing more than a foul-smelling wind egg. These gerbilophiles can achieve nothing positive for the Tories, but are capable of inflicting enormous damage on the party's already-slim prospects of recovery.

Centre of Provisional Studies

Now that IRA terrorists have been provided with their own offices in the House of Commons, we probably shouldn't be surprised to find one of the IRA's leading supporters in the UK, Frank Furedi, being published by the Conservative Centre of Policy Studies. The CPS gave its blessing to Mr Furedi by publishing his *Courting Mistrust: The hidden growth of a culture of litigation in Britain*.

Furedi was founder of the Revolutionary Communist Party and its front organisation the Irish Freedom Movement. He was a regular contributor to the journal of the Revolutionary Communist Party, *Living Marxism* (latterly *LM*, and now defunct). His 1986 book *The Soviet Union Demystified* advocated the dictatorship of the proletariat and supports the murder of the Russian Royal family by the Bolsheviks - hardly the kind of policies that Lady Thatcher sought to promote when she founded the CPS.

His organisation, the Irish Freedom Movement, was under investigation by the secret service in 1984 when it publicly declared that it would "rock" the Tory Party conference days before Irish terrorists carried out their cowardly bomb attack in Brighton. That the Conservative CPS even considered publishing Mr Furedi is an outrage.

Jonathan makes a meal of it

In January, the omniscient cultural and gastronomic critic, Jonathan "Embonpoint" Meades, sneered at and smeared the gentle quarterly *This England* in his little-read *Independent on Sunday* column.

According to Meads, there is a 'Blood and Soil' sentiment in the magazine, since the articles remind him of the prose on National Trust tea towels... Proof positive indeed! Why had no-one ever noticed this before? □

**“The
Yanks
are here
– to
stay...”**

**...Whether the
Europeans like
it or not,
argues Herb Greer**



I have to laugh. The game has been played in one form or another since the early 20th Century. The circumstances vary slightly, but the rules are always the same. The Europeans get themselves into a mess of one kind or another, usually involving bloodshed; the Americans look on with distaste, not wanting to get involved. But in the end they do step in, and their weight and power carry the day.

That, of course, is only the first phase. In part two the Europeans, far from grateful at American intervention, begin to sniff and sneer and bad-mouth the bloody arrogant Yanks, who have the nerve to think that they are some kind of important or benevolent force in the world. Oh, no way, José. They are provincial, and when they dare to step into the world arena, they are dangerous, they are clumsy, they are (in the latest play of the game) paranoid, and everything they do makes the rest of the world hate them. They should wake up and follow the lead of the Europeans, whose wise counsel and ancient skill in all things diplomatic and political will keep the Yanks from doing anything bad.

I may not be the only Yank to find this a bit rich. As Mrs Thatcher has pointed out — correctly — the Europeans and their wisdom were responsible for most of the greatest and bloodiest horrors of the 20th Century. And now they are giving sage advice to the Americans? Do me a favour!

The latest round of the game is close to hilarious. First of all we had the usual suspects screaming for restraint after 9/11. The Yanks, mad for revenge, were going to

blow up the world, they were going to launch cruise missiles, nuclear weapons, and what-not to soothe their ruffled feelings. Only the calmer restraining voices on this side of the Atlantic could save the world. But, alas, the good guys were too weak, while the Yanks were strong and angry, and all the sages could do was look on in horror while the Americans blew up the world and/or got themselves bogged down in some kind of quagmire (like Viet-you-know-what) in central Asia.

Mirabile dictu! None of that happened. Bush was careful and exercised diplomatic tact. The Taliban were reduced to ragged (and not very effective) partisans. The terrorists who had slaughtered several thousand people in New York and Washington were captured or scattered. But the Americans were shrewd enough to see that the bastards were not defeated. Mr Bush insisted that they represented a continuing danger and warned that the war against them had to continue — *pace* the letters-writers to *The Times* who babble about Americans longing for a ‘quick fix’. And he cast a beady eye at weapons of mass destruction being developed in unfriendly countries, countries that were friendly to the terrorists and shared their hatred of the West — eg Iraq.

But in Europe that particular two and two added up to not four, not even three. It came to a sum of nothing. The Americans are being paranoid, says Anatole Kaletsky in *The Times*. Iraq and Iran, according to him, would never give such weapons to their Muslim buddies. What a thought! And the Americans were upsetting everyone by

suggesting that it might happen. The Yanks were brandishing their military power and provoking antagonism, revulsion, and misunderstanding. Wow. Syria, Iraq, North Korea, Iran are full of love, brotherhood, peaceful intentions, and brimming over with the milk of human kindness toward everyone, especially America. If there is any hostility, any threat to universal peace and love and so on, it is entirely the doing of the Americans and their paranoia.

Does this have a familiar ring? Do I remember similar complaints about the Yanks during the Cold War, when the passive, friendly, pro-Western peace-loving USSR and China were being, ahem, provoked by the Yanks to build nuclear weapons? And the invasions of Hungary, Tibet and Czechoslovakia and other places were entirely the fault of a bad atmosphere created by America? Somewhere in the back of my mind there rattles the rhetoric from the Cuban Missile Crisis — a threat that was, er, all down to Yankee paranoia. The world was going to be blown to hell and it was all because the Americans were oppressing that great champion of freedom and democracy, Fidel Castro. And of course this was all proved, morally, so to speak, in Vietnam, where the arrogant, paranoid, war-mongering Yanks finally got theirs. The stench of *schadenfreude* over that still lingers in the continental and British atmosphere.

The hope that Vietnam would be repeated in Afghanistan was barely concealed; and when it was not repeated, when the Americans, agh, actually WON well, the disappointment over here was palpable. How could it have happened? In the wink of an eye the old resentment found new targets. The treatment of the poor prisoners in Guantanamo was barbaric. Bush’s rhetoric about an evil axis was going to upset everybody, especially Iran and Iraq and North Korea, whose weapons of (sssh!) mass destruction represented absolutely no threat to anyone at all. Those nice people just wanted to be friendly with everyone if only the Yanks would shut up and restrain their paranoia and be just a little more forgiving about that business in New York and Washington. It would be better for everyone if they would just go home.

But the Yanks are not going to go home. They did after World War I, and look what happened. They, unlike the founts of wisdom on this side of the water, learned from that mistake. If the American presence offends your pride — tough! You brought it on yourselves. And these days, whenever you have a major international problem to deal with, guess whose muscle has to sort it out? Not the wise men over here, that’s for sure. Whether the Eurocrats and the whingeing clots in Britain’s media like it or not, the Yanks are here to stay. Get used to it. □

Herb Greer is an American author and playwright who has lived in the UK and Europe for most of his life.



'Enter Spring'

Stuart Millson examines a favourite theme among British composers

The restorative force of springtime figures strongly in the musical tradition of the West. Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, Schumann's *Spring Symphony* and that famous Vivaldi concerto from *The Four Seasons* are all well-known works. But what of our own country? British composers have responded in equal measure to this turn of the year, with Benjamin Britten in his choral-orchestral *Spring Symphony* of 1949 easily matching Stravinsky's shattering evocation of the reawakening of the earth. The first movement of Britten's score sets the anonymous 16th Century lines, "Shine out, fair sun, with all your heat,/ Show all your thousand-coloured light!" – the chorus offering up the words as an almost pagan incantation, yet a paganism that is somehow deeper than Stravinsky's. Later tempered by an Englishness of 'country houses' and 'strawberries swimming in the cream', Britten takes us closer to the true meaning of paganism: the word is, after all, derived from the Latin *pagus*, meaning village.

In the symphony's last movement, the composer uses the 17th Century verse of Sir Richard Beaumont and John Fletcher, as a cavalcade of hobby-horses and revellers advances on London to the sound of a cow-horn, cymbals and drums:

"London, to thee I do present the merry month of May;

Let each true subject be content to hear me what I say;

With gilded staff and crossed scarf, the Maylord here I stand,

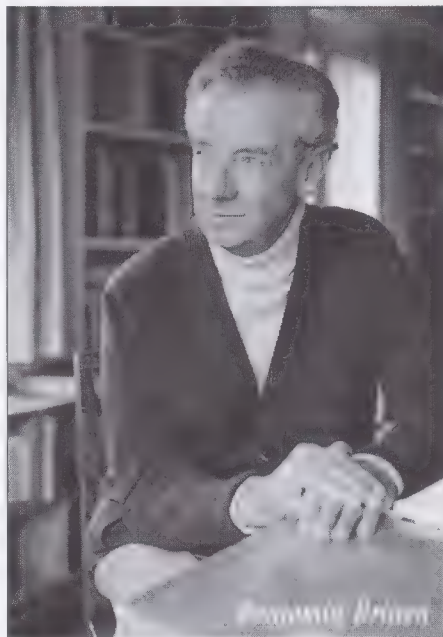
Rejoice, O English hearts, rejoice, rejoice O lovers dear!

Rejoice O City, town and country! Rejoice eke every shire!"

Britten's teacher was Frank Bridge (1879-1941), a figure in English music who combined the elements of conservatism and radicalism. His music was decidedly of the 20th Century, occupying a curious halfway territory between the very last of late-romanticism and the beginnings of modernism. The result of this blend can be

heard in the triumphant *Enter Spring*, completed in May 1927. At the time of the work's composition, Bridge lived in the Downland country of Sussex, a world of high, silent ridges where the evidence of an ancient and lost civilisation could still be seen. The physical manifestation of springtime – the last gusts of February's winds, the first warm sunshine, the rise of birdsong from the countryside below the Downs – all are brought together in this 20-minute orchestral pageant. Some difficult passages hint at atonality and a certain trace of violence, and there is a strong sense of a composer belonging very much to the cultural milieu of the post-Great War world. Yet halfway through the music, a gorgeous rhapsody emerges from the woodwind's birdsong, later developing into the triumphant march which heralds the season's final and unmistakable arrival.

And there is another native composer from this era who gloried in the greening and warming of the world. The name of John Foulds (1880-1939) is little known today, but in his time Foulds was a figure of



considerable note. Few of his works ever appear on concert programmes today, although some orchestras and conductors have championed him, most notably Sir Neville Marriner, the English specialist Barry Wordsworth, and encouragingly, some European enthusiasts, such as Leopold Hager and the Luxembourg Radio Orchestra. A heartfelt and noble vision of our countryside is enshrined in a composition entitled simply, *April-England*. Chaucer wrote of April as bringing "showers sweet" piercing the drought of March, and it is a dream-England of wet orchards and blossom on the bough to which John Foulds takes us. Yet this is no conventional piece of soft pastorate. Instead, like Bridge's *Enter Spring*, this is music which exhibits force and a lack of tonal restraint, suggesting a highly-emotional response to natural and



Frank
Bridge
1879-1941

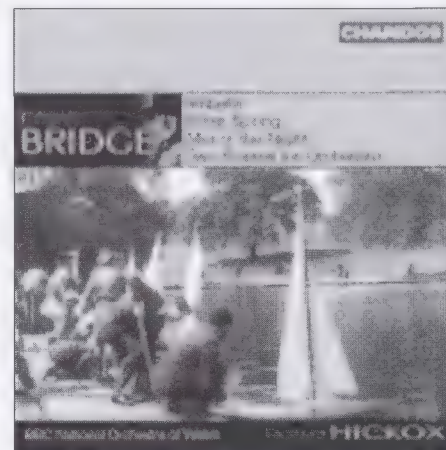
psychological forces. The composer's senses seem intensely stimulated by the environment of England – as if standing on the brink of some ecstatic vision.

The exploration of our countryside can lead to the discovery of many unusual and overlooked places. The same is true of those fascinating voyages of discovery through the byways and backwaters of British music. The beauty of Spring cannot be improved upon, but our composers have paid very creditable homage to her.

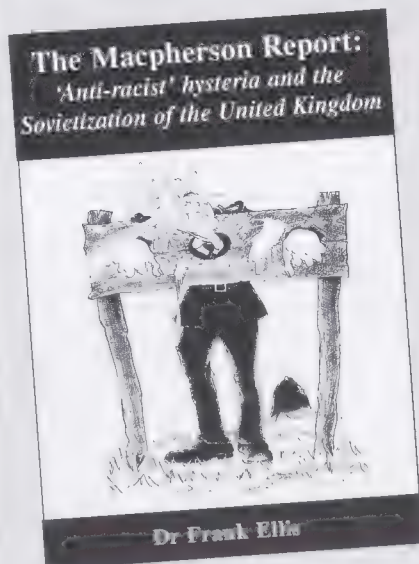
Further listening

A superbly-recorded *Enter Spring* is available on a new Chandos disc from the BBC National Orchestra of Wales conducted by Richard Hickox. A Philips "English" collection conducted by Sir Neville Marriner includes *April-England*, and there is an array of works by Foulds on the specialist Lyrita label, played by the London Philharmonic under Barry Wordsworth. Britten's *Spring Symphony* has several interpreters, including, once again, Richard Hickox (with a dazzling Chandos version performed by the LSO) and Sir John Eliot Gardiner, this time with the Philharmonia. Britten's own version with Royal Opera House forces is fascinating and definitive, although the recorded sound seems very dated. There is also a "live performance" from the First Night of the Proms, 1981, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra and Chorus under the baton of Gennady Rozhdestvensky. □

Stuart Millson writes from Kent



Enter Spring is the first track on the CD *Frank Bridge: Orchestral Works, Volume 1*, issued by Chandos Records. It was recorded in Brangwyn Hall, Swansea on the 26th & 27th November 2000. Price £12.95



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Why some animals are more equal than others

Rebecca Haynes wonders at Labour's selective interest in animal welfare

At the time of writing, MPs have just voted again – for the fourth time since 1997 – on the issue of fox-hunting. Tony Blair's decision to try to force through this legislation again has been interpreted as a sop to Labour backbenchers who loyally supported the government over the Stephen Byers/Jo Moore affair, but has also been lent impetus by the Scottish Executive's recent proscription of fox-hunting. MPs favoured banning fox-hunting by a large margin, while the House of Lords favoured the so-called 'Middle Way', of allowing hunting to continue but under a licensing system, by an equally impressive margin. The government has now announced a six-month period of consultation before any legislation is brought forward.

Last year, when Parliament last voted on this issue, the Prime Minister was not there in person to vote, although, fortunately, the BBC's *News at Ten* that evening informed me that he would have voted for a total ban on fox hunting (had he been there). I naturally inferred that he was a keen animal welfarist and concerned about cruelty to animals, since there cannot be any other good reason for abolishing fox hunting. Imagine my surprise, therefore, when the very same *News at Ten* informed me that the government was considering giving financial support to the vivisection laboratory at Huntingdon Life Sciences, and, furthermore, that the Home Secretary wished to bring in tough measures against animal activists, such as, for instance, those who have been campaigning for the closure of the aforementioned laboratory.

This made me rather confused as to Mr Blair's stance on the question of animal welfare. It seemed to me rather strange to ban hunting and yet to support an institution notorious for its cruel, and even sadistic, vivisection experiments on animals. It is an institution, moreover, which is only one of many in this country. The Home Office itself admits that some 3,000,000 animals are killed each year in Britain in vivisection experiments, and this does not include animals which have already been killed before experimentation, or animals used for organ donation (information supplied by the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection). Many scientists agree that these experiments are frequently unnecessary for human welfare and, indeed, can be misleading.

Stranger still, however, than the government's intention to give financial support to Huntingdon Life Sciences was the decision to give the police stronger powers to deal with the protestors at Huntingdon Life Sciences and to bring in

more stringent measures against animal welfare campaigners in general. I can only presume that these measures will be meted out even-handedly and that, since he is a just man, the full power of Mr Blunkett's arm will be felt, for instance, by animal welfarists campaigning against fox hunting and, until such time as hunting is illegal, by hunt saboteurs. Such people have been known to commit serious criminal damage and acts of intimidation, much like the protestors against Huntingdon Life Sciences.

Perhaps Mr Blair really is a keen animal welfarist. This being the case, I presume that he will soon introduce legislation to curtail the enormous cruelty of the factory farming industry and that, if he is not already a vegetarian, he is seriously considering becoming one. It may be the early onset of Alzheimer's disease, but I do not recall any outcry from members of the present government, or the Labour Party in general, or the anti-hunt lobby, when 250,000 cows were slaughtered and burned a few years ago during the BSE crisis – nor the more recent F&M disaster, during which an estimated 10,000,000 animals died. During these crises, not a voice was heard from these quarters about the appalling diseases which man's mismanagement had transferred to the bovine and ovine 'communities'.

The factory farming industry inflicts far more cruelty and painful deaths upon animals in one day than all the hunts in Britain have done since the Act of Union. Surely Mr Blair is aware, for instance, that although animals are stunned before they are slaughtered, the stunning is frequently ineffective. I would like to quote from a reputable journal which campaigns for changes in the system of factory farming and received the support of no less a person than Sir Paul McCartney (surely Mr Blair is a fan?): "Each year, at least 5,000,000 electrically stunned sheep and almost 2,000,000 pigs regain consciousness as they bleed to death. The time between stunning and knifing is often so long that the effects of the stun wears off ... Neurobiologist Dr Harold Hillman maintains that the effect of an electrical stun may not be immediate and can cause extreme pain, which he describes as torture... In Britain alone, 900 million animals are slaughtered each year... even the government's own advisory body, the Farm Animal Welfare Council, has been refused access to some of the larger plants".

The same publication goes on to a report by an official veterinary surgeon who visited a slaughter-house in Sheffield: "She saw animals being pushed, beaten, kicked and prodded with electric goads. She said: 'The

pigs who are insufficiently stunned wake up while they bleed and some are obviously still alive and conscious when they plunge into the boiling water to be dehaired'". The journal goes on to say "Each year up to 230,000 cattle are incorrectly stunned with the captive bolt pistol and may endure the pain of being shot or knifed while conscious" (*Viva!*, Autumn/Winter 2000).

The cruelty inflicted on animals by the meat industry is endless, and as the report above suggests, there is some intentional cruelty involved, perhaps not unlike the supposed sadistic enjoyment of hunting that the anti-hunting lobby are currently condemning. Factory farming is a prime case, I would have thought, for just the sort of radical but compassionate legislation we have come to expect from New Labour. But perhaps this is something on the agenda for the party's third term. I look forward to hearing about their plans.

There is another point which confuses me regarding the ban on fox hunting, and this is the omission of any discussion as to how foxes are to be culled if they are not hunted, since they often destroy livestock. Perhaps Mr Blair and his team intend to ensure that foxes are neither hunted nor destroyed in any other way (gassing or shooting, for instance). This would be perfectly logical and entirely in keeping with his animal welfarist inclinations.

I presume, therefore, that when hunting does become illegal, gassing and shooting of foxes will also become criminal offences. After all, the vast majority of foxes are killed in this way, rather than through hunting. It would be a pity not to extend the benefits of any new legislation to all foxes and not just the lucky ones who live in areas of the country in which hunting currently takes place, since this would be a clear case of discrimination.

I'm afraid even Mr Blair and his government can't fool all the people all of the time. The potential ban on fox hunting constitutes a blatant piece of hypocrisy and makes a mockery of parliament. Fox hunting is nowhere near the most pressing animal welfare issue of the moment.

With some honourable exceptions, the anti-fox hunting bandwagon is nothing more than a bit of good old Labour class-envy dressed up in Beatrix Potter clothing. It is about getting your own back on so-called 'toffs'. It is about the socialist-urbanists' resentment at what they believe are the 'privileged' who live in the countryside. It is about Mr Prescott's class-hatred of 'men on tractors'. It is also, I very much fear, the chattering classes' attack on those who live in, and identify with, the countryside and its traditions: the English. The red-coated huntsmen with their hounds appearing out of the morning mist is a timeless image of England. And this, of course, is exactly what the 'politically correct' New Labourites of this country wish to destroy. May they never be forgiven. □

Rebecca Haynes writes from London

Reality cheque

"There are no plans to link up the cheque-clearing systems of the Eurozone countries, because it simply isn't economic to do so" – Richard Tyson-Davies of APACS, the banking organisation that deals with cheque clearance, responding to shocked complaints that Euro cheques can only be used in their respective countries of origin and confirming that Euro cheques drawn in other countries will continue to be treated as foreign currency. (*Financial Mail on Sunday*, 13th January 2002)

Class solidarity

Labour peeress Lady Dean, the former general secretary of the SOGAT union, was robbed near her home in Islington. The thief screamed "Give me your rings! Give me your rings!" and then tore her wedding and engagement rings off her hand. (*Daily Telegraph*, 8th February 2002)

Kate gets her tongue

Writing in the *Sun* on 14th February, former Labour minister Kate Hoey said that giving up the pound would be "a massive own goal for Britain" and that joining the Euro would mean an end to Britain's economic independence. She also said that more and more senior Labour figures "are warning that the Euro will cost jobs and lead to cuts in public services". (no-euro.com *No Bulletin*, 14th February 2002)

Armed farces

Four years ago, the army introduced 'gender-fair testing' for applicants, which meant that men and women underwent the same physical tests. But despite these efforts to lower standards, there are now more than 20 recent claims by women complaining about sexism because they have failed even the easy tests. "It's like something from Kafka or Orwell – clearly the only way we can avoid getting sued is to make training so easy that anyone can get in without getting bruised or tired" commented one tired Army officer. (*Sunday Times*, 10th March 2002)

Helpful suggestion

"A better plan would be more access to classes in Urdu,

Punjabi and Hindi for the indigenous population" – local journalist Tom Henry, responding to David Blunkett's call for English-proficiency classes for would-be immigrants. (*Bristol Evening Post*, 22nd December 2001)

embarrassment for ourselves". The government has been having second thoughts about its own data legislation, introduced in October, which gives much greater public access to personal records held by state agencies. (*Sunday Times*, 10th March 2002)



Quite so

"I'm sad to say that I don't feel any more comfortable in the new South Africa than I did in the old...I thought we had fought for a society that would move beyond race and towards tolerance. I was wrong about that. Naïve" – South African novelist Christopher Hope, who now lives in Languedoc. (*Guardian*, 27th February 2002)

Ethnic plot

"The proposals have big power blocks in their way...It's a conspiracy from France and the EU to lock Africa into poverty" – Clare Short, International Development Secretary, on British-backed proposals to remove trade barriers between Europe and Africa. (*Daily Telegraph*, 11th February 2002)

Taxing work

Cabinet ministers will be exempted from huge tax rises that will penalise those driving large cars due to come into effect in April, because, as the head of the Government Car Service stated, they have a very "important" and "difficult" job to do. (*Sunday Times*, 10th March 2002)

Bloody big sum-day

The cost to date for the Saville inquiry into Bloody Sunday has reached £52m, with the final cost expected to reach over £100m. (*Daily Telegraph*, 16th January 2002)

Open government

A memo sent by senior civil servants to junior civil servants has instructed them "Don't store personal information in paper or electronic format unnecessarily. Delete it from your records before you get hit with a subject access [data] request". It continued by saying that officials should not write down anything that might be a "potential

Encouraging sign?

Education officials say schools should teach white children to be proud of their culture. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority says schools should strive to make white children proud of their culture without becoming nationalistic. Officials say white English culture has almost become a non-culture. The document says: "One criticism of anti-racist education has been that although it exposed the effects of racism perpetrated by white western Europeans, it left white pupils feeling they could not be proud of their own culture and identity." It said English culture had been reduced to a stereotype of "roast beef and morris dancers". (Online news report, Ananova.com, 4th February 2002)

Help definitely needed

Premier Christian Radio has launched a programme called *Prime Minister's Prayer Time*. Listeners are encouraged to ask God to give Tony Blair wisdom, insight and favour with world leaders. (*Times*, 21st January 2002)

Labour love-in

"Blair is not a big political thinker" – Lord Haskins, Labour Party donor and (coincidentally) head of the Better Regulation Task Force, interviewed in the *New Statesman*. He went on to say that David Blunkett "needs watching like a hawk", and that "[Lord] Birt is not really my cup of tea", and described Alan Milburn as a "rottweiler". (*Times*, 8th February 2002)

Slight discrepancy

The Meat and Livestock Commission has claimed that over ten million animals were slaughtered during the foot and mouth outbreak, more than twice as many as the official figures. The Commission's figures were

later confirmed as correct by Lord Whitty, food and farming minister. (*Daily Telegraph*, 23rd January 2002)

Government clampdown

Fewer than 20,000 failed 'asylum-seekers' were removed

from the UK during the last two years, although more than 150,000 applicants have been refused. (*Daily Telegraph*, 1st March 2002)

Streetwise cops

The chief prosecution witness in the Damilola Taylor murder trial, a 14 year old local girl, "took police for a ride" while they were waiting for her to testify in court. With her mother, she ran up hotel bills of over £4,000 in eight days. They ordered drinks from the bar, spent money in the gym and leisure complex and made telephone calls (one of which cost £226.40). Finally, they were asked to leave the hotel after setting fire to part of the building. She had earlier run up another bill of £1,341.98 in a rented flat paid for by the police, and had been taken on trips to Brighton, was bought clothes, Christmas and birthday presents and taken to the cinema. She was found a place at an independent school but left in a day, having sworn at a teacher. Her testimony proved worthless in court. (*Daily Telegraph*, 12th February 2002)

Hideously trite

BBC Director General Greg Dyke has told staff to brandish yellow cards emblazoned with the words "Cut the crap – Make it happen" at internal meetings, if they feel that creativity is being stifled by "cynics and moaners". Dyke wants to make the corporation "the most innovative and risk-taking place there is". (*Times*, 8th February 2002)

Oh yeh?

"The Tory Party under Iain Duncan Smith is a tolerant party that accepts differing opinions and encourages debate" – former Labour MEP Richard Balfe, saying why he had switched to the Tories after 23 years. (*Daily Telegraph*, 6th March 2002)

The Death of British Agriculture

Richard North, Gerald Duckworth & Co, London, 2001, hb, 300pps, £14.99

Reviewed by Ashley Mote

Winston Churchill told the House of Commons on 5 November 1940 "Every endeavour must be made to produce the greatest volume of food of which this fertile land is capable". As the first shots were fired in the American War of Independence in 1775, Dr Benjamin Rush, a civic leader in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, said: "A people who are dependent on foreigners for food or clothes must always be subject to them".

How a London-born scientist and former civil servant, now employed in the bureaucratic hothouse of Brussels, should come to write *The Death of British Agriculture* is almost as remarkable as the book itself. Richard North is an extraordinary man – environmental health officer, food safety consultant, professional researcher in the fields of politics and science, political thinker and populist author.

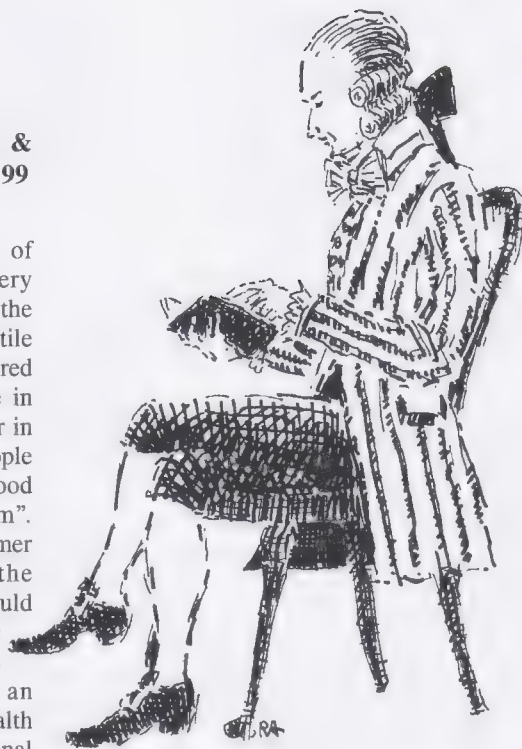
The Death of British Agriculture, which has a foreword by Christopher Booker, is a clinical, wide-ranging and brutal analysis of the potentially terminal disaster that has befallen British agriculture in recent years. Indeed, Dr North argues that it is already too late to save the industry that has produced our food in Britain, and cared for our countryside, since time immemorial.

His unique combination of experience, knowledge, and access to the facts rips the scales from our eyes. He has produced a brave, hard-hitting, readable polemic. It is balanced, yet highly provocative – thorough, yet revolutionary.

Dr North bleakly argues that little can now stop British farming falling, lemming-like, off the economic cliff. We need nothing less than a major revolution in thinking amongst farmers' leaders, scientists working in the public sector, and politicians and bureaucrats in London and Brussels. Given the current culture in all those quarters this is wishful thinking of the extreme kind.

So our farming is doomed, he says, hastened to its demise even more by the incompetence of British politicians and ministry officials than from endless meddling by the European Union. Dr North is scathing about both. He is especially severe on the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, and its successor, the Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.

Organisational structures, lines of responsibility, all-pervasive regulation and underlying attitudes must change profoundly and fast. Otherwise, we will soon be left with a terrifying tragedy involving tens of thousands of rural people. The massive social, economic, environmental and



Books

"Reading maketh a full man" Bacon

political consequences will make the fallout from foot-and-mouth seem like a vicar's tea-party.

Worse – if that were possible – we would have lost the ability to feed ourselves, and fallen prey to foreign sources of agricultural production and distribution, free to supply us entirely on their own terms. Dr North rightly argues that it is of paramount importance to the UK that this does not happen.

However, Dr North's solutions are not always as clear and attractive as his analysis of the problems. He offers cogent ideas to improve rural infrastructure and encourage decentralisation. He makes a compelling case for the removal of vested interests from crucial decision-making, especially when scientific opinion is sought. He knows how we should deal with food scares effectively and sensibly. But his overwhelming case for reducing regulation without increasing risks to public health is heavily dependent on an insurance industry that may not play ball.

And he is on less certain ground when considering the vexed issue of subsidies. Dr North rightly acknowledges that there are three components involved – the price of food, the cost of production and the cost of caring for our countryside. But he is in favour of a new form of bureaucracy to replace the bureaucratic nightmare he rightly condemns as being largely responsible for the problems besetting farming already. Essentially, Dr North wants farmers paid a commercial price for their goods, and for that price to be managed by controls. He

also wants government grants for preserving the environment. Such a combination of income may well be the germ of a very good idea, but it needs much more development. Like all embryonic revolutionary ideas it currently invites scepticism. What it actually needs is more consideration.

Not everyone will agree with Dr North, of course. But books like this are intended to provoke. It is a powerful book, and not just for farmers and country-folk. The chattering classes of Islington and elsewhere might learn an horrific thing or two from its pages – enough, perhaps, to shake their complacency.

This is an important book in another respect, too. It should be read by everyone concerned at the profound and damaging intrusions into our lives by political correctness and the machinery of the state. Dr North defines the nature and consequences of the nanny state better than anyone before him. It is irredeemably flawed, in his opinion, and he produces a powerful case for the authorities to answer. If he is right, they will ignore him! They might, but we should not.

If you live in rural Britain this book is a 'must read'. But even if you don't, you ignore its message at your peril.

Ashley Mote is a former Markets Editor for *Farmers Weekly*

No, Prime Minister

Teresa Gorman, John Blake Publishing, London, 2001, hb, 352pps, £16.99

Reviewed by Peter Clark

Political memoirs are always to be avoided. The self-serving editing of the past creates only books of falsehoods. With the hilarious exception of Alan Clark's *Diaries*, can any of us name a worthwhile autobiography by an MP?

Teresa Gorman's book comes as a surprise then. Yes, her vanity is enormous but she manages to tell her story with a light touch. If you have a friend or relative thinking of politics as a career here is a perfect homeopathic cure.

I counted one good joke every page and one excellent joke every ten pages. Mrs Gorman's life destiny was not to be an MP. It was living in America that opened her imagination to the vitality of a society which values and rewards free enterprise. She would probably have ended up as a headmistress of a south London school dabbling in property improvements with her patient husband, Jim, but Providence carried her into the House of Commons where she was a persistent troublemaker.

Teresa Gorman never learned the art of obedience. Tory whips were exasperated by her but they could not deny her consistency. She battled for the destruction of the regulations that deter British enterprise. She claims two great victories. She badgered the

authorities to let us shop on Sundays and she put hormone replacement therapy on the map.

Yet after a while the tone of this book changes. The jokes crackle on but Mrs Gorman makes the powerful point that all the main events in UK policy are merely instructions from the EU Commission in Brussels.

John Major's Conservative Party never recovered from the humiliation of the failed attempt, in 1992, to peg the pound to the D-mark as a test run for joining the Euro. In the Commons MPs are still permitted to make a fuss but the real meat of policy is dictated from Brussels and demands compliance. If anything, Blair's team is even more diligent in their conformity.

The Tory Party seems to be withering. It nourishes and promotes the dull and the cowardly. Teresa Gorman should have been the Conservative leader. She would probably have burned up quickly but what fun we would all have had.

No, Prime Minister is available from John Blake Publishing, 3 Bramber Court, 2 Bramber Road, London W14 9PB

Peter Clark is a freelance journalist

Eugenics: A Reassessment

Richard Lynn, Praeger, London, 2001, hb, 366pps, £71.50

Reviewed by Leslie Jones

The preponderant part of Richard Lynn's new book is an historical survey of classical eugenics, a doctrine and praxis that he considers eminently scientific. In his final three chapters, however, Lynn gratefully puts the irksome minutiae of history aside. He predicts that China, whose population already enjoys an IQ advantage, will implement draconian eugenic measures, increase this advantage and displace America as global superpower.

Despite the current pariah status of eugenics, Professor Lynn notes that its key teaching, the inheritance of intelligence and character, has been confirmed by modern adoption and twin studies. The early eugenicists suspected that there are hereditary predispositions toward crime. And contemporary scientists like H G Brunner are beginning to elucidate the connections between criminality, personality and genetics. Finally, Francis Galton, the founder of the eugenic movement, believed that a nation's destiny is bound up with the innate qualities of its constituent population. This theory was recently reinstated by *The Bell Curve*, which emphasised the problem of dysgenic reproduction and dysgenic immigration in the US. Lynn regards *The Bell Curve* as "a portent" of the imminent "rehabilitation of eugenics".

However, one minor quibble. Herbert Spencer first identified the key factor of differential fertility, when he suggested that

natural selection has ceased to operate in modern society. Spencer cannot therefore be described as "an early supporter of Galton's views".

Why did eugenics fall from grace? The standard answer is the Nazi horrors. Thus, S J Gould calls the American Immigration Act of 1924 "the greatest triumph of eugenics". This act severely restricted immigration from eastern and southern Europe and presumably many of those excluded died in the Holocaust. Historian Daniel Kevles, in similar vein, depicts the sterilisation programmes in the United States and Europe as a model for the Nazis. Lynn may be right that the extermination of the Jews was not based on eugenic considerations. But the orthodox interpretation is that it was.

Lynn sees the eclipse of eugenics as part of a fundamental shift in opinion away from the primacy of the rights of society towards that of individuals. The complete liberty of people with HIV or AIDS exemplifies this invidious tendency in the West, in his judgement. He also highlights the contradiction between the present unfettered right of the citizen to reproduce regardless of the costs to society and the denial of the individual's right to rob or rape.

By identifying the underclass as a genetic problem *The Bell Curve*, as Lynn remarks, called "implicitly for a eugenic solution". And his new book, likewise, is an implicit call for a political solution to the impracticality of state sponsored eugenics in the Western democracies. For as things stand a powerful coalition would veto any restriction of the reproductive rights and welfare payments that sustain the underclass. This coalition includes the Catholic Church, civil liberties groups, social workers with clients in the residuum and the ethnic minorities disproportionately represented in the latter. Only private initiatives with eugenic spin offs are currently feasible. Witness the California-based organisation that pays crack addicts to be sterilised.

Nothing is predestined. Yet the most likely scenario, for Lynn, is that the pressing problem of dysgenic reproduction and dysgenic immigration in the United States will not be addressed. Welfare payments will still be paid to single mothers. And the cognitive elite will continue to have fewer children. There will therefore be a decline in the average intelligence of the American population and a concomitant reduction in economic productivity. And the criminality, delinquency and immorality contingent on low IQ will intensify, necessitating a custodial state. The author expects that for similar reasons Europe will also decline but less precipitously.

In China, in contrast, the gerontocracy has begun to establish what T H Huxley called a "pigeon fancier's polity". Chinese doctors and geneticists are generally in favour of eugenics, voluntary or otherwise. Indicatively, the implementation of the one-

child family policy involved compulsory abortions and sterilisations for rural women. And in 1995 a nationwide law was introduced to encourage premarital medical check ups and "voluntary" sterilisation to prevent "inferior births".

Further eugenic measures are definitely on the agenda in China, according to Lynn. He envisages financial incentives and penalties to encourage the elite to have more children, the sterilisation of those deemed undesirable (ie, criminals, psychopaths and the mentally retarded), parental licensing enforced by compulsory contraception, and genetic screening of immigrants, and once the requisite biotechnology is in place, embryo selection for health, intelligence and sound character and the cloning of members of the ruling class.

Lynn is hardly the first commentator to forecast a resurgent China and the decline of the West. Charles Pearson's *National Life And Character* and Oswald Spengler's *Man and Technics* spring to mind. Methodological sticklers will doubtless complain that such predictions are inherently unscientific. And like previous enthusiasts for eugenics, Professor Lynn studiously ignores other sources of national strength. Nevertheless, in as much as it represents a warning, this book is surely welcome.

Dr Leslie Jones is an historian and author

The English Dragon

T P Bragg, Athelney, King's Lynn, 2001, 228pps, pb, £9.95

Reviewed by Derek Turner

Athelney is a small, fairly recently-established publishing house that specialises in books pertaining to the English and Englishness. Previous output includes *The Deculturalisation of the English People* by John Lovejoy (see RN 30 for John Lovejoy's view of the Parekh Report) and Tony Linsell's scholarly *An English Nationalism* (a review of which appeared in RN 33). Now they have moved into uncharted territory, with a heartfelt and romantic novel about the abduction of a child, the plotline of which is interspersed with unflattering reflections on modern England.

Tim Bragg's book is likely to offend the usual suspects. Polly Toynbee or Jonathan Meades are unlikely to take copies on holiday with them. For that reason alone, he deserves the approbation of everyone who is English, or who loves the English and hates their present debasement. But he also deserves commendation for his bravery, sensitivity and commonsense. He does not shy away from uncomfortable issues - 'asylum-seekers' play an important role in the novel - yet he always remembers that 'asylum-seekers', drug addicts, and the homeless are nonetheless human beings, and ergo deserving of compassion. Mr Bragg has a well-

Continued overleaf ➤

Books

Continued from page 21



developed sense of fair play, and considerable insight into the way people think.

The political sentiments expressed in the novel are also eminently understandable and sensible. The common denominator of all his sentiments is a strong belief in freedom – for discrete groups as much as for individuals. The novel format affords him the opportunity of expressing disquiet about what is happening to the indigenous English in new and interesting ways.

However, like all books written to make a political point or points, *The English Dragon* suffers from the besetting sins of occasionally stilted dialogue and improbable situations. Naturalism is sacrificed to ideology, and the plot to politics. The characters spasmodically stop being

characters and become puppets. Would a man whose baby son was missing *really* sit down to write out a political manifesto as a kind of therapy, or muse about Dante and advertising whilst on a London Underground escalator en route to the place where his son is being kept? I think not.

But this is a first novel, and first novels are notoriously problematic and overly self-conscious. First-time novelists generally try to say too much within a small compass. No doubt Mr Bragg will already have re-read the *Dragon* and come to many of the same conclusions himself. But at any rate he should be proud of himself for having spoken up and out for England at a time when to do so is to court charges of 'racism'. This is a noble endeavour, and I for one look forward to future offerings from Mr Bragg.

The English Dragon is available from Athelney, 1 Providence Street, King's Lynn, Norfolk, PE30 5ET (enq@athelney.org) or through any good bookshop

Derek Turner is the Editor of *Right Now!*

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TOBY BELCHER



"The cookery of a nation is just as much a part of its customs and traditions as are its laws and language"

P Morton Shand,
The Book of Food, 1929

Nettle soup

According to Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654), author of the famous *Complete Herbal*, nettle soup "consumes the phlegmatic superfluities in the body of man, that the coldness and moisture of winter has left behind". What better recipe for spring? Pick the young tops of the nettles – a carrier bag-full will be sufficient. (Wear rubber gloves!). This tastes like a meaty watercress soup – delicious!

Ingredients

2 oz butter
A large onion, chopped finely
A large potato, diced
A tablespoon of plain flour
A garlic clove, chopped finely

Washed nettles (there is no need to discard the stalks)

2 pints vegetable stock
Half-pint milk or water
Nutmeg and seasoning

Preparation

Melt the butter. Cook the onion and potato gently, until soft. Add the nettles and cook for a few minutes, stirring gently. Stir in the flour and pour on the stock. If it looks very thick add the water and stir. Season and sprinkle with nutmeg. Cook for 20 minutes, liquidise and serve.

A good accompaniment is a smoky white wine like Pouilly Fumé or Fuissé.

Education and ethnicity

John Woods does a spot of numeracy work

I recently attempted to obtain statistics relating to the academic achievements of children from different ethnic backgrounds within British schools, as well as statistics relating to the differing levels of exclusions from school for violent or anti-social behaviour, and for truancy. I telephoned Ms Gillian Blair of the Department of Education, who was extremely unhelpful. She told me, rather sniffily, that such statistics did not exist, and suggested that I try the press office. They were equally unhelpful. But the internet is a remarkable thing. A quick visit to the Department of Education's homepage unearthed some interesting documents.

The first of these is entitled *Youth Cohort Study: The Activities and Skills of 16 Year Olds: England & Wales*. According to this study, in 2000, the national average for passing five or more GCSE examinations with grades A-C at 16 is 49%: 54% for girls and 44% for boys. This is up from 51 and 42% respectively since 1998. Among blacks, the pass rate has gone from 29% to 39%: among Indians, from 54% to 60%, and "Other Asians" (presumably Orientals) from 61% to 72%. Bangladeshis scored 29% (down from 33% in two years), and Pakistanis 29% (no change since 1998).

However, the pass rates for all ethnic groups and, in particular, the recent increase in examination passes should be treated with some caution. The GCSE examination was designed to be pretty much unfailable, and so it has proved (see *All Must Have Prizes* by Melanie Phillips, published by Little Brown, 1996).

In order to ascertain a more precise picture of the situation as a whole, I phoned Ms Blair again in order to ascertain the different pass rates for the slightly tougher A Level examinations, taken at 18, and also for the proportion of pupils that had passed no GCSEs at all. I was told that these statistics did not exist. And indeed, so far I have been unable to find them. The Department of Education's spokesman also informed me that the proportion of school pupils who did not get any GCSEs was so small that the statistic would not be meaningful. Whether this is true or not, I cannot find out. I suspect that if true, it says more for the dum bed-down nature of the British school curriculum than it does about the academic prowess of modern British youth.

But it is in another document available on the net, *Permanent Exclusions From Schools, England 1999-2000 SFR 32/2001* where you get some truly startling statistics. Apparently, 12 in every 10,000 white school pupils will be permanently excluded per year. For Indian children the figure is two per 10,000, for Chinese pupils it is one per

10,000, and for Afro-Caribbeans it is 46 per 10,000. This is not a misprint. 86% of those pupils of all races excluded are male. The percentage of male Afro-Caribbeans who are excluded would therefore appear to be approximately 86 per 10,000 per year.

I telephoned Ms Blair yet again in order to find out the statistics for temporary exclusions (or suspensions as they were termed in my schooldays) and the figures for truancy, broken down by ethnic group. I also requested any information on extrapolated figures, ie what proportion of pupils from various ethnic groups will be excluded, permanently or temporarily, at some point in their academic career. Ms Blair told me flatly that these statistics did not exist, and again so far I have been unable to find them.

"When African and Afro-Caribbean children enter the school system at five they do as well as white and Asian children in tests. By 11 their achievement levels begin to drop off. By 16 there has been a collapse" – Diane Abbott MP

However, an accompanying document, also available on the Internet, entitled *Statistics on Pupil Absence and Truancy* states that "Schools with the highest levels of unauthorised absence also have the highest proportion of minority ethnic pupils". Puzzlingly, the same paragraph goes on to state "This does not mean that the minority pupils are more likely to have unauthorised absences. A more likely explanation is that schools in deprived areas have high levels of unauthorised absence, and these areas also have a high proportion of people from ethnic minorities". Some mistake surely.

16% of permanently excluded children are of ethnic minority origin; and nearly half of those are Afro-Caribbean. Yet African-Caribbean children make up only a little over 1% of the school population (census data, 1991, Department of Education). Note: About 2% of the school population of the UK is defined as "black" – the rest must presumably be defined as Africans.

One study found that African-Caribbean children who had been excluded had different characteristics from other excluded children in the study: a higher proportion lived with a lone parent, and they also tended to be of higher or average ability (but said

by schools to be underachieving). They had not usually shown disruptive behaviour from early in their school career, and showed less evidence of deep-seated trauma (OFSTED: *Exclusions from Secondary Schools*).

A 1996 OFSTED research review, *Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Youth* (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996) explored the issue of ethnic origin and teacher-pupil interaction. It concluded that qualitative research has frequently pointed to a relatively high level of tension, even conflict, between white teachers and African-Caribbean pupils. Examples quoted varied from teacher complaints about 'troublesome' black pupils, disproportionate levels of criticism and control of black pupils, negative stereotypes, and a 'stimulus-response' situation where pupils identified and responded to expectations of low ability and disruptive behaviour.

In an article in the *Observer* on 6th January, Diane Abbott MP wrote: "There is a silent catastrophe happening in Britain's schools in the way they continue to fail black British school-children. When African and Afro-Caribbean children enter the school system at five they do as well as white and Asian children in tests. By 11 their achievement levels begin to drop off. By 16 there has been a collapse. And this is particularly true of black boys – 48% of all 16-year-old boys gain five GCSEs, grades A to E. Only 13% of black boys in London achieve this standard. In some boroughs the figure is even worse. This is not a new issue. As long ago as 1977 a House of Commons select committee on race relations and immigration reported that 'as a matter of urgency the Government should institute a high-level and independent inquiry into the causes of the underachievement of children of West Indian origin in maintained schools and the remedial action required'. But in 1999 OFSTED, in its publication, *Raising the Attainment of Minority Ethnic Pupils*, said: "The gap between Afro-Caribbean pupils and the rest of the school population continues to widen".

She went on to say: "It may be the demonisation and marginalisation of black men in British society which makes some young black boys hold fiercely to a concept of masculinity which is about bravado and violence. But with black boys there are the added factors of racism and the extreme unwillingness of teachers and educationalists to face up to their own attitudes. Black boys are often literally bigger than their white counterparts and may come from a culture which is more physical. Primary schools, in particular, are almost entirely staffed with women and, while some white women teachers achieve excellent results with black boys, it would be remarkable if all white women teachers were free from the racial stereotypes that permeate this society about black men".

So, there it is. It's all the teachers' fault. □

John Woods writes from Hertfordshire

TRADING BLOWS

Help me out here would you, I'm a bit confused. Britain is America's ally (ally sounds so much better than poodle, don't you think?) in Bush's grandiose-sounding 'war against terrorism'. I'm pretty sure that's right, as we have just agreed to send 1,700 crack troops to Afghanistan to help out the Americans who seem to be having a spot of bother with Taliban and al-Qaeda pockets of resistance in the mountains. (What threat they pose to London or Washington when they are not even in control of Kabul is another matter: why not just let our Afghan 'allies' tackle them?).

So why, despite this help to a friend in need, has good ol' Dubya – Blair's best buddy (or so he would have us believe) – just announced tariffs of up to 30% on steel imports from Britain (among others)? These tariffs are intended to combat 'dumping' by foreign companies selling at below production cost, but since Corus, the Anglo-Dutch steel maker (the former British Steel, which merged with the Dutch firm Koninklijke Hoogovens in 1999) receives no subsidies and pays its workers an average salary of £30,000 how can it be accused of dumping?

Oh well, at least Blair's other best buddy, Lakshmi Mittal, who gave Labour £125,000 and – by pure coincidence – received a letter from Blair which helped him to take over the Romanian steel manufacturer, Sidex, will be happy, as Romania is exempt from the US's new tariffs. This seems odd, as Romanian workers are alleged to be paid as little as £1,200 a year and Romania would therefore seem much more likely to be guilty if dumping than Britain. Obviously the £400,000 Mittal is said to have spent lobbying the US to impose these tariffs had more effect than the pleading letter and begging telephone call from Blair to Bush asking him not to do it.

Don't get me wrong: I do not object to anti-dumping tariffs. On the contrary, I have long argued that we should impose tariffs on all goods coming from countries where the workers are paid significantly less than over here, or where companies receive state aid. The absurdity of Bush's latest wheeze, however, is that he is not imposing tariffs on steel from the very countries which have the greatest advantages from low wage rates, such as Argentina, Turkey, Thailand and Mexico.

Bush isn't the only one whose actions seem to benefit lobbyists more than his own citizens. Why did Blair back Mittal's bid to take over Sidex? Mittal's company, LNM, employs a token 100 or so employees in Britain, as against 80,000 overseas in countries such as Kazakhstan, Algeria and Trinidad: in what way can it be considered a British company (as claimed by 'Crony' Blair)? While Corus has just announced full-year pre-tax losses of £462 million and is



"How few men are strong enough to stand against the prevailing currents of opinion ... Be prepared to stand up faithfully for Right and Truth, however the wind may blow"

Winston Churchill

shedding 10,000 jobs over two years, and whereas unions are concerned that Britain could lose 5,000 jobs as a result of the US tariffs, LNM could reputedly benefit to the tune of £500 million. So why, when there is an over-production of steel in Europe, did Mittal receive a £70 million 'soft' loan to bolster the inefficient Romanian steel industry? Fishy? The whole saga stinks worse than Billingsgate.

In a separate news story I read that James Dyson, who has made an estimated £500 million from his eponymous and revolutionary bagless cyclone vacuum cleaners, is to close down his UK factory and move all production to the Far East. He has already opened a factory in Malaysia and stated: "All my competitors have operations in China and it is about the cheapest place on earth for manufacturing. We import a lot of components from the Far East so, very sadly, it makes sense to manufacture out there". No doubt it does, when the average factory wage in Malaysia is £1,344 a year. The real victims of globalisation are the blue collar workers in the West (and even some white collar workers, as some companies are now farming out clerical work to countries such as India).

The solution is not total isolationism, as this would protect inefficient and

incompetent firms to the detriment of the consumer, but rather the establishment of free-trade zones between countries whose firms are competing on a level playing field. Cheap-labour countries would still be able to sell to us, but their goods would face financial tariffs. Apart from protecting British jobs and living standards this would also provide significant government revenue.

Having created a level playing field for imports, we should then create a similarly equal situation with regard to company takeovers. At present British companies can – and are – taken over by foreign rivals but British firms are often prevented from acquiring foreign competitors. While BMW were able to buy Rover, and Volkswagen bought Rolls Royce, large German companies are often protected from hostile takeovers (Volkswagen, for instance, is 20% owned by the Land of Lower-Saxony). Similar barriers to hostile overseas takeovers exist in other European countries too, and while I do not believe that foreign takeovers should be banned (except for industries of military importance) British companies should no longer be the easy prey they are now. Foreign takeovers should be restricted to companies from countries with similar takeover regimes to ourselves, and at the same time we could learn from foreign ownership structures.

The best way, however, of not only protecting but positively promoting British industry is to raise the image of British-made goods. In many foreign countries consumers actively seek out home-produced goods, considering them to be of better quality than imports. In Britain, unfortunately, the opposite is often the case. The British motor industry, for instance, was undone by the fact that in the 1970s poor management and bolshe unions combined to make British cars a byword for unreliability and poor quality and value. While things have much improved since those days, it is still true that many people believe that goods from Germany, Japan or America are likely to be of better quality than similar British products.

The solution is for the government to establish a 'British quality marque' which would be awarded to good quality British-made goods by an independent body such as the Consumers Association. By raising the public's confidence in British products we might be able to instil a pride in buying British once again.

SPANISH PRACTICES

While Tony Blair jets around the world, despatching British soldiers to die for 'democracy' in far-flung foreign lands of no strategic or national interest to Britain, he is betraying the British people of Gibraltar and seeking to force them to accept Spanish sovereignty. The government has been negotiating with Spain over a system of 'joint

sovereignty' (an oxymoron if ever there was one) over the Rock before eventually ceding it to Spain. The government's handling of this issue has been stained with hypocrisy and defeatism. Peter Hain, the Europe Minister, has accused those opposed to the sell-out of being 'mischief-makers' – what, Peter, like the 'mischief-makers' who sabotaged the South African rugby and cricket tours in 1970? He has also tried to bribe Gibraltarians into accepting the sell-out by promising that, if they did, they would receive £32 million of EU aid to make Gib "the leading container port for the whole of Southern Europe".

With the carrot comes the stick. We are told that Britain is planning to sabotage the Rock's economy by stopping its ability to offer investors tax breaks. A British official was quoted as saying "Gibraltar needs to recognise that it has no viable economic future unless it accepts these proposals". In fact Gib's economy is very healthy, and will remain so unless it is undermined by Britain. Gibraltar has denounced the proposed deal. The London representative of the Gibraltar government said: "This is not about money, but about principles and democracy. Gibraltar has a strong economy. If European Union assistance is available, however, it should be available as of right, irrespective of any other proposals".

Unfortunately Labour do not understand the word 'principles' and always think that sovereignty is something to be sold in exchange for a few pieces of silver. (Their approach to the Euro is identical, always referring to the purported economic benefits without ever considering the loss of sovereignty). Given that we spend around £3 billion a year on foreign aid around the world, we could easily afford to give a measly £32 million to Gibraltar without relying on EU funds. In truth though, the government's proposals would be an economic and political disaster for Gibraltar. By changing their tax regime and making its inhabitants entirely financially dependent on container vessels they would make Gib's whole economy dependent on Spain keeping the border open (for if it were closed where would the containers go?). One doesn't need to be Machiavelli to see this as a way of guaranteeing that the Gibraltarians will, in future, toe the Spanish line.

The question also arises as to why the EU would be willing to provide this multi-million pound aid. Ah, there lies an interesting tale. You see, the fact is that the EU has been pressing Britain to strike a deal with Spain in order to be able to go ahead with a project to harmonise air traffic control systems across Europe; Spain has been blocking this over the issue of Gibraltar's airport.

Spain's obstreperousness over the Rock has led to Britain's weak-kneed politicians capitulating. "I really cannot see how it is a common sense position to say 'Don't talk

to Spain about resolving a 300 year-old dispute'. How else are we going to do it? It is only by talking that you can make progress", Peter Hain has whined.

As usual, he is quite wrong. The more you demonstrate a willingness to compromise and surrender the more you encourage an enemy to pursue their campaign. The fact is that there is nothing to talk about. The Rock has been British for almost 300 years, since it was ceded to us under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. A referendum in 1967 showed overwhelmingly support for remaining British, and just recently over two-thirds of the population took to the streets to protest against the current sell-out. Gibraltar is as British as... well, as British as Ceuta and Melilla are Spanish. Yes, hypocrisy is not a monopoly of the British government. While demanding the return of Gibraltar, Spain clings on to its much larger enclaves in Morocco.

As to the Tories, while they now talk tough on Gibraltar it was a Tory government that initiated talks with the Spanish over the future of the Rock, encouraging them to believe that if they pushed hard enough they would get it back. When it comes to protecting British interests and those of Britons around the world, only a truly patriotic government could ever be trusted.

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

They say 'there are none so blind as those who will not see', and this is certainly true when it comes to matters of race. Journalists and politicians are capable of whole debates where race is the central, yet unspoken, issue. Consider the following small example. Tony Blair recently pronounced that "The state of Africa is a scar on the conscience of the world. But if the world as a community focused on it, we could heal it". You may consider it odd that we are being asked to help Africa when its countries were so keen to end European imperialism and gain independence. The dictionary gives "self-reliance; self-support" as synonyms for 'independence', so why should we provide support to independent countries?

But putting to one side the issue of the appropriateness of such aid, the question arises as to why such aid is needed. Africa

is a continent of enormous natural wealth and, under white administration, was indeed financially, if not politically, independent. But consider the appalling descent from financial and judicial stability into poverty and anarchy that has befallen Rhodesia/Zimbabwe under black rule. (While not the point of this article, it is indicative of the British and other Western governments' racial timidity and self-loathing that while they were happy to go to war to protect Moslems in Kosovo, they refuse to take military action to save whites in Zimbabwe.) No one ever seems to ask – let alone attempt to answer – the question of why Africans cannot successfully manage their own affairs.

CDC Capital Partners (the former Commonwealth Development Corporation), the British-government funded organisation which provides investment to the Third World, has recently been criticised for divesting itself of many African agricultural investments. This, we are told, will have dire consequences for small farmers in Africa. "African smallholders are the people most in need of CDC's help. They often have no one else who will invest in them", explained a former CDC Director, and a former Zambian Agriculture Minister was quoted as saying: "Anything that works in this country is the result of CDC investment". The curious thing is that the CDC-run farms were profitable, with quite good returns of 6-8%. So why, I genuinely enquire, can the African governments themselves not look after their farmers, and be truly independent of Britain?

I am open to alternative explanations, but until then I can only assume that blacks are generally simply incapable of effective Western-style government. My father used to always tell me 'he who pays the piper calls the tune', but nowadays it seems that African countries want us to pay while they strut around self-importantly denouncing 'racism' and 'colonialism'. We are often told not to give to beggars in London, 'as it only encourages them'. Until we have solved the problems in the NHS and other public services I would recommend taking a similar line with Africa.

johnbull@englandmail.com

Not the *Independent's* day

The *Independent*, which the *Daily Telegraph's* Michael Wharton once memorably dismissed as "that rich mine of historical disinformation", seems determined to live down to its reputation. It seems also to want to demonstrate that it deserves its nickname of the *Insolvent* (an unkind reference to the *Indie's* less than impressive balance sheet).

In a series of articles at the end of last year, they defamed Stuart Millson, a regular contributor to *Right Now*. In a grovelling apology on the 7th of March, they admitted there was "no truth" in political reporter Marie Woolf's various claims, and agreed to make an unfortunate (for them) transfer of cash to Mr Millson's bank account. It seems that Marie was too busy gossiping with Stephen Parker (see RN 34) to check the story with Mr Millson prior to publication. What a pity that such unpleasantness couldn't have been avoided. Let's hope the cheque doesn't bounce...

Sir,
With regard to the article on the history of the Conservative Monday Club (RN34), Sam Swerling says that the Club denounced the Anglo-Irish Agreement in April 1985. This would have been impossible, as the Agreement was not signed until November 1985! I am not certain that the Club did take a corporate position. Unionist MPs who were members of the Club opposed the Agreement, but English Conservative members and MPs were afraid of offending Mrs Thatcher and kept quiet. Certainly my own Scottish Monday Club paper, *Rock Solid for the Union*, published in May 1986, did not find favour with the leadership.

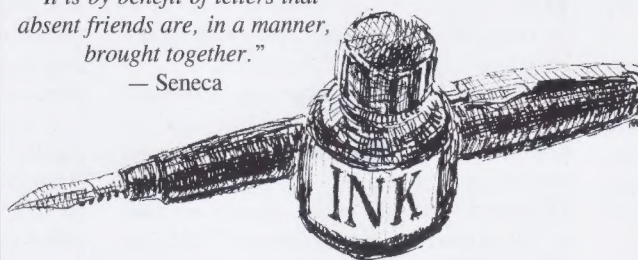
Allan Robertson,
Former Chairman, Scottish
Monday Club, 1984-1986
London, SE8

Sir,
Stuart Millson missed out some interesting details in his account of the Last Night of the Proms (RN 33). The significance of the *Ode to Joy*, of course, is that it is the Euro-anthem. In Brussels, Eurocrats are now standing to attention when this is played in public. Stuart Millson could also have mentioned that when Nicholas Kenyon became Director of the proms a year ago he tried to ban the playing of *Jerusalem*, *Rule, Britannia!* and *Land of Hope and Glory* as "inappropriate". So the antipathy of the BBC against these national songs is nothing new and clearly nothing to do with the horrific events of 11th September.

W F Farnham,
Hayling Island, Hampshire

Sir,
How paradoxical that a Western prime minister dared to suggest that our pluralist democracies, because of free speech and opinion, are better than the dictatorships 'submissive to Allah' and the authoritarian Koran, when the *fatwa* chorus against him for such utterance, from 'our' own politicians and media, itself shows that we no longer enjoy such luxuries, with even newspapers like the *Daily Telegraph* – which pretends that Islam approaches "the

"It is by benefit of letters that
absent friends are, in a manner,
brought together."
— Seneca



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The Editor regrets that he cannot answer all correspondence

values of the Enlightenment" – now begin to resemble the Judeo-Christian *dhimmi* in Islamic society, whose inner convictions were tolerated, just so long as they kept quiet and paid public tribute to their Muslim masters!

L Constanza,
Sheringham, Norfolk

Sir,
In November the British government started talks with Spain on the future of Gibraltar, which has been British since 1704. These talks will take a year to complete.

The majority of Gibraltar's 30,000 population wish to remain British, and we should respect their wishes. Yet the Chief Minister of Gibraltar and a number of Conservative MPs smell a rat and a possible betrayal of the Rock. This cannot be allowed to happen.

The Spanish still lay claim to Ceuta and Melilla, both collectively known as Spanish Morocco. I wonder what would be Madrid's response if the King of Morocco were to ask for these two Spanish colonies to be returned to Morocco.

James Annett,
Comber, Co Down

Sir,
A few months ago I was invited by the Government of Gibraltar to visit the Rock, and I was very impressed by the tremendous loyalty of the local people to the Queen and their wish to strengthen the ties with the United Kingdom and not be governed by Spain. They were concerned about whether people in the UK would support them.

Will you please write to your MP and ask them to

support the people of Gibraltar and let the people of Gibraltar decide their future? When they had a referendum in 1967 to decide whether to be linked to the UK or Spain they could not wait to get to the poll, and there was a 95.6% turnout.

12,138 voted to keep the links with Britain, and only 44 opted for Spain.

It is disgusting what our government is trying to do to the people of Gibraltar. Let the people decide. Please do not let them down; write to your MP now.

Dennis Delderfield,
London E1

Sir,
I laud the editorial in RN 34. It is about time that someone attempted to unravel the constant Eurobabble concerning the Union of Social Socialist Regions. William Hague was guilty of issuing the most oxymoronic nonsense with his "In Europe, but not run by Europe". I believe that he was one of those in favour of the Treaty of Maastricht.

Perhaps he took Kenneth Clarke's example and failed to read its contents! It should be clearly pointed out that Great Britain has always been a part of the continent of Europe – a continent consisting over 40 countries from the Urals to Iceland, and that the EU forms but a mere 15 nations. So let us put a stop to this Euro-fantatising and phantasmagoria.

I do not credit any responsible Rightwing publication saying that the Germans or French are responsible for promoting the EU. Like the British they suffer under a dulocratic society parading as democracy.

The Germans are confused and the French continue to do things their own way. This criterion is applicable to the Catholics and Jews, whose views vary widely.

The Bilderbergers are in a different category. Their regular meetings are highly secret where no reporters are allowed and whose delegates are not allowed to leave with written notes. Is it conceivable to presume that these people spend millions just in order to discuss issues of health? They are internationalist by nature with scant regard for national laws or sovereignty. They are the obvious promoters of the New World Order of which the EU is a mere stepping stone. They are a major threat to civilisation.

Bernard Faulkner,
Whitstable, Kent

Sir,
I recently noticed an inadvertent error in my article "The Conservative Case for the New Eugenics" (RN 32). The article makes passing reference to Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and his court-rendered opinion in the 1927 *Buck v Bell* decision. It should be noted that Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr served as Associate Justice on the US Supreme Court from 1902 to 1932. He was appointed to the court by Theodore Roosevelt while serving as Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court (1899-1902). William H Taft served as Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court when the *Buck v Bell* decision was rendered. My apologies for this egregious mistake.

Kevin Lamb,
Mount Airy, Maryland,
United States

Sir,
Stephen Perks' well-written and interesting article on Max Weber's much discussed ideas about the high octane effect of Protestantism on fledgling Western capitalism is to be welcomed; however I think that an important, indeed central, argument is missing from the article: namely 'predestination'.

It is crucial to realise that Weber's thesis centres upon Calvinism and the theology of the Reformed Church, certainly

HOLLAND: A Dutch newspaper, *Nieuwe Revu*, carried out an opinion poll in February which concluded that 46% of Dutch people between the ages of 18 and 30 favoured zero Muslim immigration, while 36% of young women and 46% of young men said they planned to vote in the forthcoming local and national elections for Pim Fortuyn, a 54 year old retired sociology professor and TV talk show personality who is head of a party called Leefbaar Nederland (Liveable Netherlands).

Leefbaar Nederland was founded in 1998. The party campaigns on all kinds of issues, from slashing bureaucracy and cutting taxes to having more police. But one of the chief concerns of party supporters is the high level of immigration, especially Muslim immigration (there are 800,000 Muslims in the country, about 5% of the population), which has been making Europe's most densely populated country, less 'liveable'. Fortuyn was ousted as its leader in February following an interview he gave to a Dutch newspaper, *Die Volkskrant*, in which he referred to Islam as "backward" and said that the Netherlands is "a full country". But he fought back by launching his own national party of the same



name. In the local elections in early March, there was evidence that his bold move had paid off, with his Leefbaar Nederland becoming the largest party in Rotterdam, with more than one third of the votes, and an affiliated group obtaining 19% of the vote in Eindhoven. Most observers believe that the party will win seats in the general election on 15 May. Judging by opinion polls, he could win up to 36 of the 150 seats in Parliament. (The present government is a Labour-Liberal-far Left coalition under Prime Minister Wim Kok.)

With such high levels of public approval and, now, electoral support, it is unlikely

that Fortuyn can be simply reviled or ignored – while his overt homosexuality means that many on the Left feel uncomfortable attacking him. As the leading Dutch paper, *De Standaard*, said in February, "Whether you like it or not, Fortuyn's opinions are shared by a broad section of the population. Should we then enter into a debate on the themes raised by Fortuyn? Yes of course".

Website: www.leefbaar.nl

Letters – Continued

not upon the softer philosophies of the Church of England or those of Lutheran persuasion with their trailing and embodied Catholic elements. Central to Calvinism was predestination: that is that only a select few are chosen by God to be saved, and one's future was established by God from the moment of one's birth – though there is no way of knowing whether one has been chosen or not.

This presented the problem of 'salvation anxiety' to believers and although, officially, Calvinism maintained that there was no earthly sign of salvation Weber argued that, to avoid the psychological strain or cognitive dissonance of such a condition, members sought for an indication. He postulates that they perceived worldly success as such a sign and that the accumulation of wealth was something to be approved of, though not to be used for idle luxury but

to provide the central platform for charity and good works. He certainly considered that, later, this psychological link between Protestantism and capitalism had been broken and one no longer had to be a Protestant to be a 'this-worldly ascetic'.

May I make a final, and political, point? In the UK the Reformed movement under John Knox's leadership was principally a Scottish phenomenon and although Puritanism had strong elements in England they had no central lasting effect, whereas the Church of Scotland is based upon those principles. Is it not, therefore, slightly odd that from the voting behaviour of Scots, and in their predominance in the socialist and trades union movements, they demonstrate the most fervent anti-capitalism?

Weber, we have need of thee for an explanation!

Peter Maddox,
Swansea

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RIGHT AROUND THE WORLD

News of patriotic, conservative and regionalist movements across the globe



Dates for your Diary

Nota Bene: Events are listed where we think they may be of interest to our readers. It does NOT imply that this magazine approves or endorses the event, or organising body, concerned. Events may be subject to change at short notice. Those wishing to attend are advised to contact the organisers beforehand.

Wednesday 24th April 2002, 7.30pm, St Columba's Church Upper Hall, Pont Street, London SW1, *Salisbury Review* St George's Day dinner. Churchman and author Rev Dr Peter Mullen will propose the toast of St George. Tickets £17.00. Apply in writing with remittance cheques made out to *The Salisbury Review*, to 33 Canonbury Park South, London, N1 2JW.

Saturday 4th May 2002, 2pm-5pm, The Victory Services Club, 63-79 Seymour Street, Edgware Rd, London, W2 (nearest underground Marble Arch), Annual General Meeting and Conference of the British Weights and Measures Association (AGM 11am-12.30pm). Speakers to be announced. Conference tickets £5, either by post from British Weights and Measures Association, 45 Montgomery Street, Edinburgh, EH7 5JX, or on the day.

Wednesday 24th April 2002, 7.15 for 7.30pm, Committee Room 3, House of Lords (check room number with a police officer in central Lobby on the night, as rooms are subject to change without notice), London Swinton Circle meeting courtesy of Lord Molyneux of Killead, KBE, speaker Philip Benwell MBE, (Chairman, Australian Monarchist League). For more information, contact London Swinton Circle, PO Box 29208, Deptford, London, SE8 3ZU.

Remember the *Godfather 2* film? The white-suited capo visits small bakeries and grocery shops and asks for his cut. He also imposes his nephew on one unfortunate shopkeeper, who is obliged to fire Vito Corleone (played by Robert De Niro) as he cannot afford another employer. Mind you, it had a good ending. Vito gets fed up with the white-suited capo's extortion, lies in wait for him during an Italian religious parade, and shoots him dead, ridding the community of the shakedown artist.

Alas, real life is quite different than the movies. Take, for example, the reparations demanded by American blacks of corporate America. Three landmark class-action lawsuits were recently filed in Brooklyn federal court demanding \$1.4 trillion in damages. Yes, that's one trillion, four billion greenbacks. Or one billion million, four billion.

The suits maintain that Aetna Inc, Fleet Boston Financial Corp, and CSX Corp built empires on the backs of slaves – and must now give their heirs past wages and profits gained as a result of free labour. One of the plaintiffs is a lawyer – what else would she be? – by the name of Deadria Farmer-Paellmann (sounds almost English to me) a 36-year-old Manhattan black woman who spent five years researching how to go about filing the lawsuit. She may not wear a white suit like the blackmailer did in the *Godfather*, and the corporations she's trying to extort are not small family businesses, but however you cut it, the method is the same.

Jesse Jackson has been intimidating and shaking down large companies for 35 years. His brother, Noah Robinson, is worth hundreds of millions as owner of Coca-Cola franchises all over the United States. They were handed to him despite his prison record on the advice of "Reverend" Jackson. The Reverend himself flies only private, owns something like seven very large houses, and has not been bothered by the IRS despite the fact he spends millions every year without actually having an income.

Specifically, the suits state that the bank being sued evolved from an earlier bank founded by a man who owned ships used to transport slaves. Aetna's predecessor "insured slaves against the loss of their human chattel". And CSX is the descendant of railroad lines that were constructed or run, in part, by slave labour. In other words, any company that has evolved from one that once upon a time had anything to do with slavery is liable. Britain, of course, has to be next, with hundreds if not thousands of companies having evolved from older ones that somehow were connected with the slave trade. The lawsuits point to successful



by
Taki

recent suits filed by Holocaust survivors. The trouble being that 140 years after slavery was abolished, even shyster lawyers will have trouble finding people who suffered and are still around.

Never mind. Money is money, and no one is better in extorting it than our black brethren. Affirmative action, after all, is exactly what the white-suited gangster practiced when he forced his nephew upon the shopkeeper. Not that they will win anything in a court of law. Here's how the scam works: One hones their skills in the politics of racial resentment, subsequently threatens boycotts or files frivolous lawsuits for reparations for slavery. Conglomerates are notoriously cowardly when it comes to public relations. Sooner rather than later a settlement is reached in the hundreds of millions – peanuts to large corporations – and everyone's happy.

Demand for reparations also mobilizes a certain amount of sympathy and support among whites and especially the liberal and Left-wing media. Some white politicians like Clinton also benefit simply by voting for meaningless apologies for what others did centuries ago. It's a great scam and I'm sure Tony Blair will be among the first to approve it.

The grotesque Salman Rushdie is still at it – attacking the privileges he enjoys among the West. According to David Pryce-Jones, writing in the *National Review*, Rushdie had a nervous breakdown the day the Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to VS Naipaul. He spent his day railing against Naipaul, and bemoaning that he himself would now not be receiving the Nobel for ten more years. Rushdie of course has a chance to win the

prize because so many unreadable writers have done so in the past.

On merit, however, the only prize Rushdie deserves is that given to cowardly phoney, which he has been throughout his life. He even took the trouble to blame the current tensions in India on VS Naipaul in an op-ed piece in Washington, by claiming that Naipaul had denounced India's Muslims *en masse* and praised the nationalist movement. Naipaul had done nothing of the sort. To the contrary. Yet the scummy Rushdie called him "a fellow traveler of fascism and a disgrace to the Nobel award". What a pity some poor Muslim did not take care of Rushdie the rat long ago and use the reward to build himself a palace somewhere in towel-land.

While a murdering thug like Robert Mugabe travels the world – last year he enjoyed a triumphal tour of European capitals – so called victims of the Chilean military's 17-year rule are pressing legal action against... Henry Kissinger. Having successfully sued the man who saved Chile from Cubanisation, General Augusto Pinochet, Lefty judges now want to bring Henry to the dock. Judge Juan Guzman, the same person who is handling the Pinochet case in Chile, has submitted 17 questions to American authorities regarding Kissinger's role in the death of an American journalist made famous in the movie *Missing*. Argentina has also joined in, calling Kissinger a potential defendant or suspect in Operation Condor.

What is going on here? An easy question to answer. The Human Rights Lawyers Committee has smelled blood and is out to assert itself. In reality, they are the same unelected and answerable to no-one busybodies who have Brussels as a power-base, and use human rights to threaten and intimidate anyone perceived as an enemy of the bureaucrats that rule the so-called free world. Kissinger had to cancel a trip to Brazil as a result. I wonder who will be next on the list? What about Lady Thatcher?

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